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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

NATIVE IDENTITY IN TRANSITION:
A CANADIAN EXPERIENCE.

BY

MICHELE MARIE MARCHAND

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1990



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ISBN 0-315-64876-7

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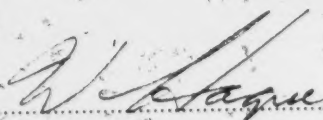
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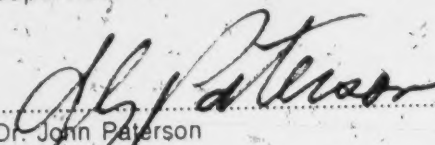
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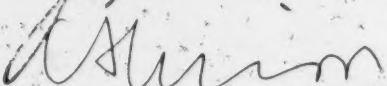
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled **Native Identity in Transition: A Canadian Experience**, submitted by MICHELE M. MARCHAND in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION in Educational Psychology.


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Dr. Carl Urion

Date SEP 28 1990

DEDICATION

To my daughter Jasmine, for whom
I strive to make the world a better place

ABSTRACT

Native identity issues have become an area of increasing interest in recent years as society seeks answers and solutions aimed at stopping the increasing numbers of native people experiencing social problems in Canada. This thesis seeks to examine the lived experience of five native people in relation to the development of their individual sense of identity, and as well explore shared experiences and identity development across co-researchers. Open and semi-structured interviews allow the individual lived experiences to become real to the reader. Data analysis by way of phenomenological methodology is validated by the co-researcher prior to inclusion in this paper. A synthesis of co-researchers' experience reveals that, although essences of experience are shared, the timing and individual responses are often contingent on the contextual situation of each individual. Research is examined in relation to existing literature. Conclusions and implications are presented along with a bibliography.

Acknowledgements

To my supervisor, Dr. W. Hague I express my unqualified thanks for the advice, support, suggestions and editing involved in the development of the different phases of the dissertation.

The members of my supervisory committee Dr. J. Patterson, and Dr. C. Urion were always available for consultation, providing invaluable suggestions and insights, without which this dissertation would have suffered. I express my sincere thanks to them.

Special appreciation goes to co-researchers and special friends for their active interest, insights, time and support, for without them this research would not have been possible.

To my friend, Dr. Jonas Darko-Yeboah, who provided me with much inspiration, help and guidance through insights, organization and editing of this thesis.

To Dr. J. J. Mitchell, participation in his class and reading his book Nature of Adolescence assisted in bringing my thesis question into focus.

To my mother Marie, sister Laurie and my daughter Jasmine for their time, support and understanding, I express my unqualified appreciation.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Some theorists e.g., Erikson (1963) posit that identity develops through stages with each stage laying a foundation for the next one; that ideally a person should develop an identity foundation by late adolescence or early adulthood; and that incomplete stages may lead to psychological impairment. The importance of a positive identity cannot therefore be overemphasized. Nevertheless, a healthy identity does not just happen, it requires the right conditions or social context in which to develop or serious malfunctions may arise (Mitchell 1986). It may be that in Canada, the right conditions do not extend to Native people since they are proportionately over-represented in most societal 'problem' areas, such as in the penal system, in social assistance, in unemployment, and in early mortality.

In efforts to address these issues and other issues members of the psychological profession have, since the early 1900's, been trying to understand native peoples and cultures, in the hope of facilitating cultural adaptation. The trend of research has been to focus on the native group, as opposed to individuals as natives. Results have usually suggested native people have poor, maladaptive self-perceptions (Trimble, 1987). Given the diversity of experiences even within tribes, generalized research results may be ill-applied or misinterpreted by different readers. For the general population, the movies, literature and media have tended to magnify social problems, providing little accurate history or background information and in essence have promoted stereotypical thinking about Natives. As a result a Canadian Native, as an individual remains relatively anonymous within the existing structure.

In response to this situation, this research focuses on Canadian native as individuals. Rather than investigate individuals identified as experiencing social problems, the research will be aimed at people perceived to be adjusting to the dominant society. Five

native people will share life-experiences perceived to have contributed to their sense of self identity. Specifically, it is hoped the effect of native ethnicity, on identity development will be elucidated.

The Research Questions

The research was guided by four questions:

1. What is the lived experience of Canadian native persons?
2. What important experiences have contributed to their sense of self, their sense of identity ?
3. What are the strengths, and drives within the person that he/she uses to cope and plan for his/her existence and future in Canadian society today ?
4. And are any of these experiences shared amongst the other individuals in the study?

Rationale: Why Identity Development is Important

Much literature discusses the historical oppression of native people. The effects of historical changes on native people in the last couple hundred years is available not only in the literature but from the stories native people have told of their own experiences. It has only been about 25 years since Indian people were given the vote and declared citizens of Canada. Research commonly explicates the history of Native cultural/familial breakdowns and alludes to the lack of direction/identity it has led to in the young people (Berlin, 1987; Topper and Curtis, 1987, Sullivan, 1983). Various research addresses societal situations, and backgrounds of native people but none has sought to relate experience from a native perspective. Generally research from the 1950's to early 1970's emphasized personality descriptions obtained from controlled observations or personality instruments, and results were usually negative, indicating native people have poor, maladaptive self perceptions (Trimble, 1987). Authors of such research include Landes, 1937; Hallowell 1960; Barnouw, 1960; Boggs, 1956;

Elliot, 1971 (Barnouw, 1960). Little effort was made to consider cultural components of interpretation until the later seventies. Research began to find more positive results in cross-cultural research of self concept or self esteem with children (Howell, 1979; Moses, 1979; Pike, 1975; Trimble, 1987). Efforts were then made to investigate the appropriateness of past measures and interpretations (Rontenburg & Cranwell, 1989, Trimble, 1987). Investigations suggest most measures are inappropriate in application with native populations (Miller, 1987; Trimble, 1987). Primarily the research is in the "natural science" vein. In one recent study, Henry (1989) did a combination quantitative/ qualitative study in which he interviewed six native people, did a structural analysis of the test of interviews in which he examined factors which contributed to subjects' sense of self esteem. He then measured them on the Cooper Smith Self Esteem Inventory for purposes of interpretation. Native ethnicity, however, as a factor was only one component of the analysis and was only briefly described.

Review of the literature reveals a tendency to focus on the commonalities of negative life histories and then look for avenues of prevention. I would like to take this opportunity to explore the experience of five native persons and see what/how experiences have contributed to the people they are now.

Definitions

Identity Explained

" The nuclear components of identity are: a) a sense of personal importance; b) continuity of experience and c) a solidarity with family, community and society.... A personal identity means knowing myself in relation to "me" and [italics added] in relation to others" (Mitchell, 1986, p.15).

Native

Who is Canada's Native person today? Although indigenous to the land now known as Canada, native people have continued to remain for the most part outside the social/political realm of the Canadian majority. Social realities are that the majority of Canadians remain ignorant about the indigenous peoples of this country, with the media limiting, in fact, the of their knowledge about Natives/ Indians. Stereotypes contribute to and define their interest/relationship with Canada's indigenous people. The medias, for the most part, have portrayed native people in a negative light, sensationalizing negative aspects, providing little or culturally biased historical information, regarding the circumstance of the situation(s). It is not any wonder then, that present day native non-native relationships based on ignorance do not promote or address the individuality of the native persons.

Native people are legislatively defined by the government of Canada, these definitions include: Status (treaty) Indians-registered under the Indian Act of Canada, which entitles them to certain benefits; Metis - individuals of mixed blood (non-Native and Indian ancestry); Inuit - native people of the Northern territories, without treaties and with some benefits; and non-status Indians- individuals who have lost their status (Martens, Daily and Hodgson, 1988). Native people themselves define themselves by tribe amongst each other, and then generally by having native ancestry. Legal definitions are used more in political arenas.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is the study of the phenomena of the world as experienced by conscious beings... A "phenomenon"... is precisely what is consciousness as the person experiences it (Giorgio, 1983, p. 146). Methodologies employed in phenomenological research aim at "describing experience" (Colaizzi, 1978, p.57).

Reserve

Lands secured through treaties between the crown and Native people, designed to segregate Native people and make way for incoming immigrants (Martens & et. al, 1988).

Native Communities

Native community refers to an identified body of Native people who provide community support, often with symbols, gathering and institutions aimed at fostering racial pride (Nagler, 1975; Sullivan, 1983). In this thesis, individuals are commonly associated with a geographically definable area in which Native people reside as a majority.

Self

In Jungian theory, "the self is the mid-point of personality [which] provides the personality with unity, equilibrium and stability (Hall&Lindsey, 1978, p.124). Rogers describes the self in terms of a gestalt "perceptions of the characteristics of the 'I' or 'me' and the perceptions of the relationships of the 'I' or 'me' to others and to various aspects of life, together with the values attached to these receptions (Rogers, 1959, p.200).

Overview of Thesis

This thesis begins by presenting the thesis question, background history which led to the question and theoretical considerations in light of the question. Chapter two is a literature review, including a brief historical perspective on Canadian Native cultural changes, relating these changes to identity development in light of Erikson's "eight stages of man". Following this developments in identity theory are examined generally, then

more specifically in relation to ethnic identity development. Chapter three examines phenomenology in relation to researching Native identity development. A brief overview of a preliminary study using the phenomenological method is presented, followed by the methodological procedures used in this research project. Chapter four outlines findings including within-persons and across-persons analysis, and will discuss these findings in relation to identity models. Chapter five presents conclusions, possible implications, shortcomings and directions for new research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Extensive research has been conducted into the situations of native people from different perspectives, including historical, sociological, political and psychological (Trimble, 1987; Miller, 1987; Erikson, 1963). Some of these studies report poor self concept, low self esteem and loss of identity as contributing factors in the development of the social problems experienced among natives (Topper & Curtis, 1987; Berlin, 1987). It is this author's opinion that native identity development has been severely impaired by the rapidly changing social context(s) of the last several hundred years, particularly the last few decades, and that the interplay between generations and life experiences has, at times, compounded the difficulties and contributed to identity malfunctions.

This review begins with a historical perspective followed by a description of the native social context following contact with European culture from the 1600 to the 1950's. The effects of this era on native identity development is presented, and is followed by an examination of the present social context and its relationship to the identity development of today's Canadian native people. A number of models of identity development are examined to provide some heuristics for the interpretation of the data in the present study. Though none of these models directed the data gathering process, if the data fits any of these models attention is drawn to them.

Pre-European Native Societies

Nagler (1975) points out that though native people come from diverse social, physical and cultural backgrounds, they are seen as constituting one ethnic group which implies one culture designated "Indian culture" by white people viewing it from the outside. The diversity of the Canadian geographical landscape is representative of the diversities of native tribes and cultures. Native cultures stemmed from their relationship with their environments (Price, 1979). Native Counselling Services of

Alberta (NCSA) (1984) identifies 7 principal groups, each with many sub-groupings and 11 linguistic groups, which Price (1979) states makes up 50 distinct native Canadian languages. NCSA (1984) attempts to simplify the diversity of life-styles by dividing them into three groupings: hunting/nomadic, agricultural/semi-sedentary, and west coast/marine societies. Hunting and nomadic societies were characterized by small populations, bands and clans made up primarily of extended families, portable religious/social structures and leadership was based on personal power and abilities. Agricultural/semi-sedentary societies were characterized by larger populations, society-wide political, economic and religious institutions and leadership also based on personal power and abilities. West coast/marine societies were characterized by sedentary permanent settlements, land ownership and material accumulation. Chiefdoms had hierarchical leadership gained through heredity. These chiefdoms equaled European feudal societies in terms of class structure, and centralized social and political structures.

Spirituality was a way of living and was strongly connected in a relationship to the land, "reflective of the pantheistic view that man is a part of a delicate balance in the universe where all elements, and living creatures, interact and are interdependent" (Sullivan, 1983, p.85). It was/is believed that each person has a spiritual path to follow, his/her own lessons to learn and his/her own choices to make on that journey, in order to fulfil his/her spiritual purpose in this world (Storm, 1979). Although there are great diversities in native religious traditions and lifestyles, Locust (1988) compiled a list of 10 common beliefs basic to most tribes:

1. American Indians believe in a Supreme Creator. In this belief system there are lesser beings also.
2. Humans are threefold, made up of mind, spirit and body.
3. Plants and animals, like humans, are part of the spirit world. The spirit world exists side by side and intermingles with the physical world.

4. The spirit existed before it came into a physical body and will exist after the body dies.
5. Illness affects the spirit, mind , and body.
6. Wellness is harmony in spirit, mind and body.
7. Unwellness is disharmony in spirit, mind and body.
8. Natural unwellness is caused by violation of sacred taboo or tribal taboo.
9. Unnatural unwellness is caused by witchcraft.
10. Each of us is responsible for his or her own wellness.

(Locust, 1988, p.317).

It is evident native people had established social, religious and political structures prior to European contact. This intercultural contact was to produce unforeseen consequences for native cultures.

European Influence

In the early 17th century, both Britain and France had colonies in the new world, now Canada and United States (Gabrial Dumont Institute (GDI), 1985). At that time European fashion centered around the fur industry. As the industry was fast depleting European fur resources, they welcomed the new found wealth of furs available in the new colonies. The fur trade began as a reciprocal relationship between Europeans and native people. The fur trade not only affected the economy of native people, but began to affect the social structures.

Native families not only endured the new pressures of a changing economy but also moral laden value pressures from the church missions which were growing simultaneously. In eastern matriarchal societies, headed by the females "fur traders would only deal with men as head of families" (Martens et al., 1988, p.108). Thus came a nuclear family influence on matriarchal extended family systems. Missionaries began the job of converting native from "pagan" beliefs to Christianity. Christianity taught

different ideas and values about the family system. For example the church encouraged the use of corporal punishment, by men, to "discipline their women and children" (Martens et al, 1899, p.108).

As furs depleted in the eastern Canada, the fur trade needed to access new resources. This required furtraders to change tribal alliances from the sedentary Mohawks to the nomadic Cree. Cree lifestyles made them more willing to facilitate the movement of the furtrade westward.(G.D.I., 1985).

As European structures gained strength in the new world and the reciprocal relationship with native people began to change: The Aristotelian concepts that "a portion of mankind was set aside by nature to be slaves for the service of others... and by nature (of being) slaves, this part of man does not have property rights" along with a belief in "divine right" were adopted by Europeans in their conquest of the new world (Duchene, 1988, p.354). As the fur trade developed, informal marriages between fur traders and native women produced offspring, who would become known as Metis. The fur trade was to shape the lives of the Metis in terms of settlement, seasonal customs and national consciousness. Metis tended to combine native and European cultures, to create a new and unique culture (G.D.I.,1985). The Metis period of historical progression would require separate consideration. For the purposes of this paper it is enough to know that these people faced difficulties similar to other native people in later generations.

As settlement of the west accelerated, game began to deplete; disease and starvation became rampant, and finally the threat of extermination by force made it necessary for native people to enter into treaties (Parnell, 1976). Between 1871 -1921, Treaties 1 through 11 were signed in Canada (Frideres, 1988). Frideres (1988) states misinterpretation was involved as to the terms of the agreements in the treaties. "The Indians thought they were being protected from the settlers, and the commissioners saw the reserves as places where Indians could learn to be settlers" (Frideres, 1988, p.87).

With the signing of the treaties, missionaries intensively began the job of christianizing, civilizing and educating the "savages" with the support of the government (NCSA, 1984). Mission schools, also known as residential schools, began to be established in the 1830's and continued to operate into the 1960's (Martens et al., 1988). Native people although initially supportive of the new education, wanting their children to gain skills for survival in the new order, quickly protested once it was realized that the focus was aimed at assimilation rather than instruction (Miller, 1987). For the Europeans "the school book contained with it the Americanizing lessons of Christianity, capitalism, and republicism...they [Indians] would come to enjoy the blessing of civilized progress. But... they [Indians] must continue to give up the land" (Adams, 1988, p.23). Native people continued to actively pursue the retention of their own beliefs. The Canadian government used the rebellions of 1870 and 1885 to pursue a policy of containment and control. Subsidiary legislation allowed government officials to erect a de facto system of apartheid (Daniels, 1973; G.D.I., 1985)

Changes in the economy, religious and social structures had dire effects on the stability of traditional native life-styles. It was the boarding school system which was most effective in eradicating traditional systems and upsetting the environment of developing native identities the children. "With their emphasis on the dominant culture and then disregard of native culture, these residential schools alienated native children from the educational process, from religion and from their families (Wagner, 1975, p. 23).

Socio/Historical Changes and Identity Development

In order to gain perspective on identity development in European society in general and native society in particular, Erikson's model will serve as a point of departure. Erik Erikson, a German-born psycho-analyst attempted to extend and refine Freud's

notions of personality development by proposing that a healthy personality develops through a socialization process. This process (see Table 1) involves a series of

Table 1

Erik Erikson's Stages of Psychosocial Development

Although Erikson describes two extreme resolutions to each crisis, he recognizes that there is a wide range of solutions between these extremes and that most people probably arrive at some middle course.

Approximate Age	Stage
Birth to 1 year	Trust vs Mistrust Babies learn either to trust or mistrust that others will care for their basic needs, including nourishment, sucking, warmth, cleanliness, and physical contact.
1-3 years	Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt Children learn to be self-sufficient in many activities, including toileting, feeding, walking and talking, or to doubt their own abilities.
3 - 6	Initiative vs. Guilt Children want to undertake many adultlike activities, sometimes overstepping the limits set by parents and feeling guilty.
7 - 11	Industry vs. Inferiority Children are busy learning to be competent and productive, or feel inferior and unable to do anything well.
Adolescence	Identity vs. Role Confusion Adolescents try to figure out "who am I?". They establish sexual, ethnic, and career identities or are confused about what future roles to play.
Adulthood	Intimacy vs. Isolation Young adults seek companionship and love with another person or become isolated from other people. Generativity vs. Stagnation Adults are productive, performing meaningful work and raising a family, or become stagnant and inactive. Integrity vs. Despair People try to make sense out of their lives, either seeing life as a meaningful whole or despairing at goals never reached and questions never answered.

Adapted from: *Childhood and Society* by Erik Erikson (1963)

psychosocial stages aimed at achieving ego identity by resolving specified identity crises at each psychosocial stage of growth (Thomas, 1979, p. 263). Unlike Freud who was preoccupied with pathological aspects, Erikson elucidated the characteristics of the healthy personality which to him should be the goals of desirable human development. A healthy personality *actively masters* the environment, shows a pattern of *unity of personality*, and is able to perceive the world and himself *correctly* (Erikson, 1968, p. 92; Erikson, 1970). The new-born child displays none of these characteristics implying that he/she must learn them (Bandura, 1977) a process of developing through a series of crisis resolutions.

"Each of these stages are crises that must be coped with successfully. Each represents an encounter between the child and the demands of society. Of particular importance for a successful healthy adult personality is the successful resolution of the identity crisis during puberty and adolescence" (Chaplin, 1985, p. 160).

Assuming the native child was able to develop from stage one through three within his own family, as Erikson points out, at Stage 4 "danger lies in the sense of inadequacy and inferiority...[The] child's development is disrupted when the family cycle has failed to prepare him for school life or when school life fails to sustain the promises of earlier stages" (Erikson, 1963, p. 260). The native child forced to enter a residential school, with a foreign language, behaviors, beliefs and then to be told that all his own language, behaviors and beliefs were evil, it would have been traumatic, terrifying and confusing "Breaks in the relationship with parents affects all those achievements based on identification with parents, such as demand, prohibition and social ideals" (Goldstein, Freud & Solnit, 1973, p. 33). The importance of ethnic identity development is supported in contemporary studies with native children (Aboud, 1977). The negative effects of eradication of childhood identifications can be seen in the statement "Many children with boarding school experience grew up with hatred towards their parents, their heritage and themselves" (Wilkenson, 1986, p. 157). Erikson also emphasizes out

the fragility of the developing identity in children "the danger threatening the individual and society where the school child begins to feel that the color of his skin, background of his parents, or fashion of his clothes, rather than his wish and his will to learn will decide his worth as an apprentice and thus his sense of identity" (Erikson, 1963, p.260). The pain of some of these experiences is reflected in the words of those who experienced the boarding school. "I was never slapped, until I attended boarding school... I was told my hair was a gift from the creator and they [nuns] took the scissors and and cut them (braids) off here [indicating at his ear]... I felt ashamed and humiliated" (Tom, personal communication, October, 1987). "At boarding school, I wasn't Jim, I was just a.... I knew I wasn't what they [nuns] said I was, but I didn't know what I was.... Today [age 48] I am still working to know who Jim is" (Jim, personal communication, February 1989). "Out of the nine years I grew up in boarding schools, I had eighteen months of home life, so I had to learn again and my parents had to learn about who I was and I had to learn about them, and that was difficult. It meant going back and rehashing and reliving and reflecting on some of those hurts, pains and of being lonely" (Canadian Psychiatric Association, 1983, p.46).

Children affected in Erikson's fourth stage would likely have been impeded in development through remaining stages. For as children lost their religion, respect for their heritage, their parents, their family role models, their parenting role models, and their language, they lost their connection to their people. Several generations passed through the boarding schools, raised by a few nuns and a priest, each generation compounded the difficulties of the previous and future generations. Boarding schools operated into the 1960's (Martens et al, p. 108). So one can surmise the identity malfunctions that took place in this era had a cumulative effect. One could envision a grandparent raised in the boarding school, with a confused sense of self, who marries another, and they have children, who go to boarding school and so on. This says nothing of the effects of restriction to reserves, and dependency on government rations that were

also part of this era. This brings us to identity development and the present social context.

Stanely McKay Senior, a native elder, stated "the life of Indian people for the past two centuries has been one of enormous heartache and struggle, the move to the cities is part of that struggle" (Krotz, 1980, p. 156). The beginning of the migration correlates closely with Indian people being declared citizens of Canada in 1960. As Krotz (1980) puts it, "high reserve birth rate, limited reserve economies, the attraction of the bright city for migration, make it a matter of course" (Krotz, 1980, p. 156). Native people were leaving the reserve and trying to establish a place for themselves in the larger society. Nagler (1975) points out that many of the difficulties native people experienced stem from not being able to be self-sufficient. Moving to the city, native people found that lack of education and training put them at the lower end of the socio-economic scale (Nagler 1975). The economy is specialized, mechanized and requires one to accept the upwardly mobile values of urban society (Krotz, 1980). Westmeyer (1976) states native people are "immigrant people in the land of their forefathers [they experience a]...change in environment, social organizations, interpersonal behaviors, attitudes, values and language" (Westmeyer, 1976, p. 431). He explains further in saying "among all immigrants groups thus studied, first generation migrants experience high rates of severely incapacitating mental health problems... Identify problems and associated emotional disturbances have been noted to persist for a few generations following migration" (Westmeyer, 1976, p.432). The move to the city also created feelings of loneliness and isolation due to loss of support of the extended family system which still existed on the reserve, albeit in an altered form.

In addition to the problems of migration, children faced the problems of racism and discrimination in the education system. Text books continue to omit native American contributions and histories (Duchene, 1988, p. 356). "Depicted in school texts and on television as savages with few morals... native child cannot see himself as a person; he

can see no heros" (Parnell, 1976, p. 87). A content analysis of Social Studies textbooks authorized for use in Ontario found "Indians emerged as the least favoured of all groups. An overwhelming number were portrayed as primitive and unskilled; not infrequently they were shown as aggressive and hostile as well" (McDiarmid, Pratt, 1971, p.51). This not only effects native children but their peers as well, "young children are easily influenced by superficial stereotypes. Native children are taught to feel ashamed and inferior, but the same situation also enforces feelings of racial superiority in the minds of white children" (Parnell, 1975, p.88). Parnell (1975) further states for "the native child who has a cultural background which is ignored or ridiculed by the school, the chances of failure are much greater" (p.82).

Parents faced conflicts and problems as well. They were likely "torn between old child rearing practices, which have developmental purposes based on old traditions and the new ways of living that often conflict with tradition" (Berlin, 1987, p. 301).

It is important to note that not all tradition was lost because of being outlawed or because of boarding schools. Native people historically sustained an oral history, and they were able to retain a semblance of how things were/are supposed to be-the "value" system. Unfortunately, it was the continuity of experiencing it as a way of life and identity development within it, that was lost. Presently "parents may feel inferior in the eyes of their children and white society. They usually cannot read or write as well as their children (if at all); they seldom have as much education or as diverse a life experience as their children" (Parnell, 1976, p. 149). Struggles included value conflict, examples of which "the very expression of what was once considered efficient and aristocratic behavior - such as disregard of property and the refusal to compete - only leads to an alignment with the lowest strata of our society" (Erikson, 1963 p. 156). Behavior and beliefs still strongly stem from the spiritual belief system outlined earlier and often directly conflict with values and belief systems of the Canadian mainstream.

As I have outlined, there has been minimal continuity of experience to provide a stable social context in which to nurture identity at any stage, and there have been plenty of additional stressors. Parnell (1976) suggests "In situations where stress does become acute and where milder forms of defense mechanisms are inadequate to cope, more 'serious' social problems behavior" develop. These problems take various forms ranging from alcohol abuse, sexual promiscuity, accidents, suicide, and violence, to family breakdowns, child neglect, laziness or deterioration in community organization" (Parnell, 1976, p. 147).

These social problem behaviors could be a complication of any of the identity malfunctions described by Mitchell (1986). Such as, an "identity crisis [happens] when the adolescent cannot find some one (or something) to believe in, or attach himself to...Typical of identity crisis is over identification" (p.33). This need to have something to attach one's self to is identified in a statement by an elder "they want to say they are Indian, but a man will probably be wearing a woman's symbol" (Gilliam, Morey, 1974, p. 159). Another malfunction of identity is negative identity - "doing the opposite of what is expected, it is a strategy for youth who have had ideals paraded before them which seem unattainable" (Mitchell, 1986, p. 35). Identity diffusion is yet another malfunction. "The key experience of identity diffusion is shame. Its presence creates feelings of worthlessness, and self hatred and nurtures habits which alienate the young person from friends and family" (Mitchell, 1986, p. 36). It is characterized by "deterioration of personality and overall lack of ego strength...normal growth 'difficulties' such as intimacy or important occupational choices are avoided...intimacy is virtually impossible" (Mitchell, 1966, p. 36-37). Any of these identity malfunctions could be related to the social problems described at the beginning of this paper. If one could see life cycles interconnected, one would see the interplay and effect on the individual(s) and culture(s), and anticipate resulting individual internal conflict. Curtis and Topper (1987) studied this conflict in Navajo-Agency towns where



adolescents were presented with grandparents who lived the traditional way, and parents who promoted the benefits of wage work. While they are encouraged to pursue one or the other lifestyles, both avenues are blocked. Traditional living was limited by grazing and livestock permits and wage employment was limited by underemployment in the town. The result is what Curtis and Topper call "synergistic dual anomic depression". The adolescent in order to maintain limited economic social, and emotional gains became fixated at a mid-adolescent level of functioning and looked to his/her extended family to meet his/her needs.

Manifestations of native identity malfunction are prominent. However, native people are rising to meet their own needs. Native organizations are coming together in political, social, educational and economic arenas to meet the needs of their own. Pan-Indianism is starting to create racial pride (Nagler, 1975) and is providing a strong voice for National native political groups, which are lobbying for the needs and rights of native people. Return to traditional values to rebalance spiritual needs is promoted by elders in the penal, social and educational systems. Perhaps native people are coming full circle. This could account for Trimble's (1987) findings in his study, that native people generally had a moderately, "positive image of themselves" (Trimble, 1987, p.330). His analysis of all the studies before him in the area of native self perception indicated "negative self-image, feelings of rejection, repression, anxiety and a tendency to withdraw" (Trimble, 1987, p.319).

Because of the still rapidly changing social contexts of native people and because of the lack of consistent data, the area of identity development in native populations is open for further investigation. From my investigation, the changing social contexts of the last hundred years account for many difficulties native people may have had in forming strong identities and resulting in identity malfunctions, manifested in social problem areas. But positive social context(s) are in the formulation and open the area for

investigation in a new light. Dr. Joe Coutoure sets the stage for new transitions at a 1972 elders conference:

"This is the declaration by the elders, in order to survive in the 20th century, we must come to grips with the whiteman's culture and his white ways. We must stop lamenting the past. The whiteman has many good things, borrow, use technology, discover and define the harmonies between the two cultures, between the basic values of the Indian way and those of Western civilization and thereby forge a new and stronger sense of identity to become fully Indian today. We must become bilingual and bicultural. We have never had to do this before. In doing so we will survive as Indians, true to our past, but we always survived. Our history tells us so." (C.P.A. 1983, p. 100).

Having examined the historical context of native people and its relationship to identity development models, it is now necessary to examine newer developments in the area of identity development:

Theories/Models of Identity Development

In his book entitled *Communication and the Evolution of Society*, Jurgen Habermas (1979) discusses moral development and Ego Identity in which he notes 3 presuppositions underlying psycho-analytic models such as Erikson's. First, some personality structures are normal or ideal while others are dysfunctional. Assuming this stance, the therapeutic goal of analytic treatment is to develop these ideal characteristics in individuals who lack them. Secondly, across early models is the conceptual strategy that "basic psychological and sociological concepts can be interwoven because the perspectives projected in them of an autonomous ego and an emancipated society reciprocally require one another" (Habermas, 1979, p. 71). This multi-dimensional and/or interactional relationship among different domains of human functioning is gaining currency in models of identity development. Thirdly, though psychoanalysis is losing ground to other perspectives, the concept of "an uncoerced ego that is identical with itself" (p. 71) is still current. Adorno (1973) puts it more succinctly:

According to the Kantian model, subjects are free to the extent that they are conscious of themselves, are identical with themselves; and in such identity, they are also unfree to the extent that they stand under and perpetuate its compulsion. As non-identical, as diffuse nature, they are unfree; and yet as such they are free because in the impulses that overpower them they also become free of the compulsive character of identity" (p. 294).

Some of the additional common threads, identified by Habermas (1979) running through the different perspectives or identity models in the areas of analytic ego psychology, cognitive developmental psychology, and the symbolic interactionist tradition are the assumptions that:

- adult subjects speak and act based on the integration of maturational and learning processes;
- the development of the ability to speak and act passes "through irreversible series of discrete and increasingly complex stages; no stage can be skipped over; and each higher stage implies the preceding stage ;
- the formative process is *discontinuous* and *crisis-ridden* requiring *resolution of the crisis for a healthy personality*;
- the path of development is hierarchical, linear, and towards abstraction and autonomy;
- the identity of the ego normatively includes communicative competence, and acting to satisfy certain consistency requirements (consistency and continuity);
- the transformation of external structures into internal structures is an important learning process (involves conditioning, language and thought processes) (see Habermas, 1979, pp. 73, 74). The polemics surrounding the above assumptions in previous models have compelled individuals to seek a more inclusive but compromising models of identity development of minority groups.

Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1983), postulated a theory about the identity of minorities derived from clinical work and earlier conceptualizations (see Table 2). It is a 5-stage model that extends Erikson's in a number of directions. One of the central

tenets is that people acquire and validate their identities through the evaluations of significant others such as peers, parents, teachers, etc. (Banks, 1972). According to Thomas (1985), "achievement of a firm identity occurs by arriving at conscious and unconscious positive responses to the questions: Who am I? Who am I in the eyes of those apparently most familiar to me? Who am I in the eyes of those unlike me? Who am I in the eyes of those who apparently dislike me?" (p. 125).

Table 2

The Minority Identity Development Model (MIDM)			
"Minority behavior, like all human behavior can only be fully understood within the context of the attitudes which motivate it" p. 35). Because identity is essentially achieved psychosocially, oppressed persons strive to achieve self-understanding and acceptance via their own minority culture, the majority or dominant culture and the interactions between those cultures. The five stages below are not discrete or clearly distinguishable but rather are continuous, with one stage blending with another. In contrast to other stage models of human development, this model does not follow an invariant sequence, is not hierarchical, is reversible, and is not universal. Each stage is characterized by distinct attitudes toward self, members of the same minority, members of other minorities, and members of the majority.			
Stage Towards:	Attitudes Towards Self	Attitudes Towards Same Minority	Attitudes Towards the Majority
<i>The Conformity Stage</i> Appreciative	Self-Depreciative	Group-Depreciative	Group
<i>The Dissonance Stage</i> Ambivalence	Culturally Confused	Culturally Confused	Increasing
<i>The Resistance & Immersion Stage</i>	Self-Appreciation	Group Appreciation	Rejection
<i>The Introspection Stage</i>	Self-Questioning	Group Questioning	Group Questioning
<i>The Synergetic Appreciative Articulation and Awareness Stage</i>	Self-Appreciative	Group-Appreciative	Selectively
Adapted from: Atkinson, Morten, and Sue's (1983). Counseling American minorities (pp. 32-42). Dubuque, IA: Brown.			

Empirical Studies

Apart from models presented to explain identity development among native populations in North America (U.S. and Canada), a number of empirical studies have been conducted based on these models that appear to provide support to the stage concept of identity development. This empirical review underscores the lack of research directed toward identity development of Natives using the phenomenological approach. Many of the studies reviewed were not designed to examine identity development as such. However, collectively, they provide additional information concerning the identity development of Natives of Canada.

Based on Erikson's (1968) theory of identity development, as operationalized by Marcia (1966, 1980), Phinney (1989) conducted a study into the stages of ethnic identity development in minority adolescents. He used an in-depth interview and questionnaire measures of ego identity and psychological adjustment to study 91 Asian-American, Black, Hispanic, and White subjects, all American-born attending integrated urban high schools. The results indicated one-half of the minority adolescents had not explored their ethnic identity (identity diffusion); about one-quarter were involved in exploring their respective ethnic identities (Reflective Stage/Questioning) and about one-quarter had explored and were committed to an ethnic identity (Group Appreciation). There was a positive relationship between achievement of ethnic identity and an independent measure of ego identity and psychological adjustment. Though the process of identity development was similar across minority groups, each ethnic group faced different developmental issues.

Streitmatter (1989) studied 208 sixth, seventh and eighth graders with respect to the relationship between academic achievement, school attendance, and identity development. The identity instrument used was Extended Objective Measure of Ego

Identity Status (EOM-EIS). A positive relationship was found between level of identity development and academic achievement and school-related attitudes.

About (1977) conducted a cross-cultural study of interest in ethnic information among comparable White, Indian, and Chinese Canadian from kindergarten to grade one. He found that children's ethnic information-seeking attitudes are positively related to the stage of self-identification reached.

In response to existing conflicting research results, Morten and Atkinson (1983) examined the relationship between minority identity development and preference for counselor race. This study was based on the assumption that minority persons in the conformity stage (SD-GD-MA) (See Table 2) hold negative attitudes towards themselves and their ethnic minority groups but a positive attitude toward the majority/dominant group. The study indeed revealed no relationship between Minority Identity Development stages and many different aspects of counselor-preference such as gender and counselor-style. However a positive relationship was found between counselor race and level of identity development - i.e., Blacks in the Stage II preferred Black counselors (GA).

In a five-year longitudinal study, Arredondo (1984) examined aspects of the identity development of 30 immigrant young adults of 13 different ethnic backgrounds, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. He observed that immigrant young adults experience a progressive ego identity development in terms of an increasing "integrated sense of self, a strong affiliation with family and primary cultural group, and an acceptance of life in the United States" (p. 977).

The studies reviewed are model-driven and cover minority groups in general. The segment of the identity studies that examined Natives covered cases from both Canada and United States in cross-cultural contexts. Of all the studies reviewed only one was a longitudinal study which permitted the case of stages in identity development to be examined. Furthermore, none of the studies used a phenomenological method. The

present study examines the identity development of Natives in Canada in an unstructured setting using a phenomenological method. It investigates whether the same themes and developmental trends depicted in the models earlier outlined, especially Atkinson's model, will be replicated for 5 Native Canadians of various ages.

CHAPTER III

Method

Approach Used in This Study

This study is a phenomenological description of the lived experience of five adult Canadian native people, experiences seen by the participants to have contributed to their sense of self and sense of identity as a native person. Coming from different areas, and backgrounds, the individuals each bring with him/her a different perspective, a different life-world, but share the commonality of a Native ethnic ancestry. The purpose of the study is to exemplify structures of life-experience of these co-researchers.

Appropriateness of a Phenomenological Approach

The following will clarify the appropriateness of using a phenomenological method for this study as well as define some concepts utilized in the methodology.

Traditional experimental research has tended to avoid individual experience in seeking scientific objectivity about groups (Colaizzi, 1978). The focus of traditional experimental research has tended to separate subject from object, focus on small segments of behavior, look for causal relationships and examine data in terms of averages for purposes of generalizability (Polkinghorne, 1980). Reliability is "an estimate of the consistency of measuring the universe to which it refers" (Wertz, 1986, p.185). Usually reliability is considered in terms of measurement, with the experiment constituting a complex set of measurements. Validity is "the property of a measuring device that it measures in fact what it is intended to measure" (Chaplin, 1985, p.484). This approach is fine if it directs research at a well normed population and the researcher is using large, representative samples in his/her study. This is however rarely the case in research on native people. There are few "norms" for

Canadian native people. Traditional experimental research often uses instruments which have invalid norms for native people, and small sample sizes (Trimble, 1987; Common & Frost, 1988). Such research results are often generalized or misinterpreted as being representative of or applicable to the 'average' native person (Trimble, 1987, Common & Frost, 1988). In terms of identity development research for Canadian Natives, most of the research studies were carried out on children and adolescents, using traditional experimental methods, thus the research is limited. Further empirical measures are aimed at quantifying the content of identity rather than examination of processes involved in identity development. If one wishes to explore the processes, as is involved in examining lived experience, one would need to choose a qualitative approach such as phenomenological research.

Phenomenological Research

"Phenomenology is the study of the phenomena of the world as experienced by conscious beings... a 'phenomenon'... is precisely what is consciousness as the person experiences it" (Giorgio, 1983, p. 146). Polkinghorne (1980b) states the focus of phenomenology includes the whole life-world, beginning with the "full range of experience, including emotion and will, as the person experiences himself/herself in living" (Polkinghorne, 1980b, p. 4). This is based on the notion of intentionality "Human existence and the world constitute a unity" (Colaizzi, 1978, p. 54). In phenomenology the person is said to exist co-constitutionally with his/her world. That is the person and environment cannot exist without each other. Phenomenological methodologies aim at "describing experience" (Colaizzi, 1978, p. 57). Data may be gathered through a variety of avenues; in this study it is gathered through interviews. Once the data is gathered the researcher attempts to formulate meanings out of significant statements, to draw out structures. This is done in cooperation with co-researchers. Though the phenomenon may be looked at from various perspectives, in

place and in time, its constant, essential ingredients will not vary (Colaizzi, 1978, Polkinghorne, 1980b). Phenomenology being descriptive, looks for identification and understanding of phenomena. It is an exploration, through meditative examination, of data. A search for meaning in the conscious experience. With the intention of examining the experiences of individuals in relation to their own identity development, it would seem that the phenomenological approach is suitable for this study.

Concepts

Life-world - refers to the life experiences as the co-researcher experiences them. In discussing the life-world one is attempting "to describe and understand the central themes the [co-researcher] experiences and lives towards" (Kvale, 1983, p. 174).

Co-researcher- Interviewees are often referred to as co-researchers, as they become active participants in illuminating the phenomena of investigation. Therefore it is essential that the co-researchers have personal experience with the phenomena, are articulate and able to provide wide varied experiences (Polkinghorne, 1980b; Colaizzi, 1978). A trust relationship is sought between the researcher and co-researcher, to allow the co-researcher as much freedom as possible in expression of his/her experiences (Polkinghorne, 1980b.).

Objectivity- On the part of the researcher is in expressing the phenomena as it presents itself "fidelity to the phenomena" (Colaizzi, 1978, p. 52).

Bracketing - By having the researcher 'bracket' his/her presuppositions prior to investigation of phenomena, an attempt to ensure fidelity to the phenomena. This is to ensure the structures are not interfered with by the researchers own presuppositions.

Meaning - Understanding and description of central themes in the life-world of the co-researcher.

Structures - (Other terms - essence or Form) The researcher attempts to "make explicit the structures which are implicit in 'given' experiences. This is done through descriptions of the essential aspects of the 'given'-- that is, descriptions of what ever makes the 'given' what it is" (Polkinghorne, 1980b, p. 9).

Validity - Phenomenology does not seek generalizability as criteria for validity. Validity comes from the empathic understanding of the phenomena by the reader, and "is open to intersubjective check" (Shapiro, 1986, p.178) rather than by statistical manipulation.

Preliminary Investigation

A preliminary phenomenological study of one person using Colaizzi's model (1978) was done to assess the utility of the method in investigating this question. The research endeavored to portray the development of identity as experienced by a native person, from her descriptions of her life experiences.

The co-researcher was by societal/external evaluation said to exhibit an established a sense of identity. She maintained a responsible job, which included the counselling of others. She lived a fairly predictable existence with no known history of social deviation. She appeared emotionally stable and content with her life. Research was aimed at exploring the co-researcher's life experiences and examining the forces that influenced the development of her identity. It was explained to her that a major interest was in what ways "being a Native" played a part in her life.

The first interview was a spontaneous interview in which the researcher was merely seeking some assistance in refining the research question. My friend (the co-researcher) indicated which question she found to be most meaningful to her and stated she could tell me about it. The question was "what has it meant to you to be Native?" The interview was immediately recorded by hand. This was then used to generate questions which expanded on the areas she brought up in the first interview. A subsequent

interview was then carried out using these questions as a guideline only, these results were then transcribed.

The entire transcript was then paraphrased, to draw out meanings. These paraphrases were taken back to the co-researcher for validation. Since there were no concerns expressed with the paraphrases/interpreted meanings, they were organized under broader themes. These themes were then given generalized descriptions, along with numerals which identify where the original statements appear in the transcribed interview. The themes were then organized into clusters along a time line of experience, since they generally were experienced sequentially. As with all people certain aspects carry on through one's life and others appear sporadically. An exhaustive description of results was formulated out of these themes. Finally a descriptive identification of her native experience in relation to identity development sought to bring the information together in an understandable fashion.

Results indicate that although she began life off the reserve at an early age, personal traumatic experiences brought her back to the reserve. For her, native ethnicity was an issue compounded by early beliefs engrained in her by her stepfather that Natives were savages and as she put it "people you weren't supposed to like". In early adolescence, being told she was a Native eradicated her world-view of herself; she could no longer value herself in the same way. Unfortunately, she did not have the background experience to value herself as a native. Once within the reserve community, she did not have to address this emotional crisis. The reserve is an insulated community, where *nativeness* is not an evaluated issue. Therefore the trauma was easily suppressed.

Extended family provided a secure haven for her and she came to realize she was still a valued person within their context. Determined to have independence and control of her life she moved out of the community to pursue a career. Once out of the community she had to confront the internal conflict surrounding her native ethnicity.

In the majority work force she was confronted with indirect prejudice. As she was not the target, this may have made it even harder to deal with the conflicting feeling within her. She had the opportunity to deny or avoid the issue, pretending it did not apply to her, but at the same time she experienced feelings of shame, guilt and anger at being in that position. While she made some attempt to refute stereotypic prejudice, consciously she minimized the importance of native ethnicity for herself. Her experience of empathic pain, however, pounded from within her the reality, the importance, of dealing with identity issues. Yet she knew not what to with those feelings and so repressed them. She was driven at this time to spare her children from experiencing her life's difficulties, wanting to make them proud of themselves as individuals and as native children.

It was not until she was exposed to positive images of native people through a community workshop that she was able to begin to integrate her native identity. It was not an overnight transformation, but it seemed to have been enough to start a forward progression.

It was almost an unconscious progression for as she talked through the interview one could sense the anxiety/anger confusion she had regarding her own ambivalence, yet one could also see the pride emanate from her when she talked about the ethnocentric values she's established. One could contrast her hesitancy in talking about the confrontation of prejudice in her younger days, as compared to her response in a recent situation related to class stratification. One could see confidence in her own established value system, her world-view by which she defined herself. Integration of native identity had not limited her world view, but expanded it. It had been an essential grounding foundation in the establishment of an independent identity. An independent identity evidenced by her ability to pick and choose between cultures those values which she feels best work for her and by a willingness to allow her children to have their own experiences, knowing

they would differ from her own and finally she expressed contentment and security in her future.

In conclusion it would seem that, for this individual, being a native was an essential factor she had to deal with in the development of her identity. Beginning with only negative images about her own ethnicity, she experienced a long struggle towards resolution. It was only through external intervention and the exposure to positive images of native people that she was affirmed as a native and was able to begin the process of integrating the meaning of that ethnicity. Being able to integrate her ethnicity established a base for a higher order identity, of which nativeness was an important part.

In following up on my preliminary investigation, I hoped to see if there were common themes of experience among several native people and gain personal insight. Without shaping participant experiences into a preconceived mold. I wanted the experiences of the people participating in this study to unfold. I then decided to explore in a similar fashion the experiences of five Canadian native persons, to gain insight from individual life-worlds, and see what common experiences were shared and which have contributed to their sense of identity.

Phenomenological Approach used in this Study

The procedures for conducting this study have been influenced by various researchers (Polkinghorne, 1980b; Wertz, 1983, 1986; Giorgi, 1983) but the methodology that will be generally followed is that outlined by Colaizzi (1978).

In terms of identity development models, there was an awareness that my research may have been influenced by exposure to the different theorists/models. In carrying out the study, a conscious decision was made not to follow any particular theory or model. The purpose was to avoid shaping the experiences of the co-researchers. Once the data

was analyzed it was examined in light of existing models and theories. The relationship to literature is discussed.

The reasons for aiming this research at individual adults were: a) my own preliminary study suggested that identity development of the co-researcher did not fall within the stage - age parameters of identity development models, such as, Erikson, 1963., b) presently most existing research utilizes children and adolescents, c) the data is gathered by utilizing instruments limiting the scope of the data, d) the data analysis process of traditional research averages out individual experience.

Bracketing

As a native person who has taken advanced studies, I may have developed certain prejudices and presuppositions. I will endeavor to present these now. Initially when I began this study my motivation was, in addition to wanting to address general native social issues, to address my own identity questions. Was I alone in thinking native ethnicity was an essential component of who I was and that it affected what/how I thought my life was meant to be? Were there other native people who struggled with insecurities about being Native in Canada? How did other Natives address and cope with the social situations native people face in Canada today? I thought if I could gain insight into these questions, it would not only be useful for my personal development and counselling profession but may also be useful to other native people to compare experiences and for other professionals working in the social fields.

Intellectual advancement of my presuppositions have led to the following beliefs. Even if one is not aware of it, one's own nationality influences life or affects one's choices. Further, although Canadian multiculturalism is applauded today, inter-racial relations are influenced by prevailing stereotypes. Groups of people are often defined by these stereotypes. Consequently, issue or not for the individual, I believe most native

persons are confronted with these external evaluations of native people as a whole (part of the environment) and in some way deal with them. How one chooses to deal with them and how they influence the sense of self is part of my question.

In addition, I believe historical factors such as cultural fragmentation by legislation, segregation, boarding school, family separation, religions make generational experiences different. These are experiences which have influenced and limited the developing environment of many young native identities. Further the extent to which these experiences continue to influence the experiences of the following generations needs to be explored. As times change so should the influencing forces.

At the beginning of this study, I decided to focus on native people perceived to be stable in the native community. That is they were not identified as experiencing 'identified' social problems. Given that it is my assumption 'identity malfunctions' lead to social malfunctions, the social adjustments of the selected individuals would suggest they had not encountered identity problems or had had overcome them. Perhaps the sharing of their experiences might shed light on avenues for advancement towards a healthy identity. I chose the general term native rather than speak in terms of tribal affiliation, because I believe there are commonalities of experience between native peoples across Canada.

As I became more immersed in the study, I gained new discoveries and insights from the people willing to share their experiences, this has led to a sense of personal growth. I has also broadened my perspectives and hopes for the future.

Methodological steps are outlined as follows.

1. Co-researchers : are self-identified native people who share an interest in the research question. Co-researchers were selected on the basis of self-expressed interest in exploring native identity development, and/or based on the author's personal knowledge of person and/or by recommendation of others. Individuals were

perceived to have a wide variety of experiences and ability to shed light on this topic of interest.

2. Ages - ages range from 23 to 78. Most existing research is done on younger people and my preliminary investigation suggests mature identity issues are not dealt with within the younger time frames.
3. Individual backgrounds - Co-researchers are people, who by community standards, would be perceived to have a solid sense of self and stability in the community. Their roles/occupations include university students, addictions counsellor, board members, political advisor, education director and university students. They originate from Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. Some are urban residents while others reside on reserves. Still others have experiences of both urban and reserve.
4. Five people have been interviewed. Co-researcher data from the preliminary study is included
5. Materials:
 - a) Interview questionnaire - was developed out of preliminary study (See Appendix C).
 - b) audio equipment was used tape record interviews
6. Data was collected in two interviews per participant. The first interview was audio taped and transcribed, and the second interview was an examination of paraphrased meaning of statements, by the co-researchers, derived from the first interview.
7. The first interview was an open interview, allowing the co-researcher to share the experiences they felt most contributed to their sense of self today.

Once the first interviews were completed, they were transcribed. A descriptive presentation of individual lived-experience from the individuals perspective was then presented. The significant statements which pertain to the investigated phenomena, from these interviews were then paraphrased. These paraphrases were then be checked out with each co-researcher for accuracy. Participants were invited to challenge, expand or

clarify aspects of the first interview. If misinterpretations occurred they were corrected and/or notations were added. These paraphrases were then organized under broader descriptive themes. These themes then were given encompassing generalized descriptions based on the paraphrases/statements. These descriptions refer back to the original interviews in order to validate them. These themes were then organized into clusters of themes. Individual interpretive summaries were then formulated in relation to identity development.

In the next chapter, following procedures just outlined, a synthesis of experiences across co-researchers was then prepared. Findings are then related to existing theories of identity development.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

After providing brief background information on each co-researcher at three levels of increasing abstraction: statements, paraphrases, themes were extracted from the interview. These were then paraphrased to develop themes. Themes are meant to reflect content meaning of the statements. Since a number of themes appeared common to the different co-researchers, generalized descriptions have been developed as applicable to all co-researchers see (Table 3). These themes relevant in the description and analysis of the lived experience of the respective co-researchers are presented below for quick reference. These themes are then organized into clusters forming time lines of experience i.e., childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, adulthood, mid-adulthood and late-adulthood periods for each co-researcher. The individual life experience of each is then discussed in relation to sense of self and identity development.

Table 3

Higher Order Thematic Descriptions

Anomie- exposure to or participation in the disorganization of social and personal values during times of catastrophic stress.

Assumes Parental Role- due to loss of a parent, child takes on roles and responsibilities of absent parent.

Cultural Diffusion - a time when level of knowledge and awareness limits the interpretative understanding of experiences.

Cultural Confusion- inability to define a relationship between majority society and nativeness; uneasiness with feelings of divided loyalties between majority and native group; mixed or confused attempts to integrate cultures.

Cultural Integration- appreciation and application of cross cultural values and attitudes.

Cultural Restoration- conscious attempts to build cultural knowledge base; re-establish self in native community; build foundation for confident identification with native group.

Cultural Separation- the view that majority and native cultures operate separately and distinctly, governed by different values, attitudes and informal laws.

Table 3 continued

Death - experiences personal loss of significant other person. e. g. relative, friend.

Disillusionment with native Community- view that native community (e.g. reserve) is deteriorating; that it is a place which offers little and no encouragement of personal advancement and achievement; that the security it offers can become an impediment to pursuing outside (majority) advancements.

Exposure to Racism - personal experience with racist attitudes, prejudices and behaviors directed at native or other ethnic group; implication that there are certain attributes which are related to acceptance or rejection of the individual.

Extended Family - reference to the emotional security and interdependent relationship among extended family members.

Family Instability- experiences which imply some form of family instability.

Family pride- expression of pride in immediate family members.

Grief- strong emotional reaction to loss of parent; long lasting effects from unresolved grief.

Group Alienation- Feeling of being apart or strangeness in relation to native people, either by choice or through group ostracization.

Group Assertion - expression of pride and support of native people's attempt to assert native rights within Canada.

Group Struggle- Appreciation of the life-experiences and changes which have contributed to the present social difficulties which native people and individuals are experiencing.

Healing/ Life Change --event or experience which operated as a catalyst to a whole life change, in which the individual sees the world from a different, more positive perspective, gaining new lease on life and appreciation of self.

Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic Images- intense emotional reaction to the people or images which portray the "stereotypic Indian", feeling that those images reflect on native people as a whole and on the individual's personal worth; the individual then attempts to adjust behavior to compensate for that image. Person may also suffer from feelings of constantly having to be on the alert for outside (majority) judgement, or from the feeling that the image supersedes personal worth and value in the outside (majority) world.

Identity Crisis- state in which the person's world view by which s/he defines him/herself becomes so obscure s/he no longer has a sense of who s/he is and what defines his/her purpose or importance in life.

Independent Identity - feeling of continuity, control and confidence in self.

Isolation- feelings of being alone in experience.

Table 3 continued

Lack Resources - cultural ignorance and feeling of inability to develop knowledge, affects ethnic identification, confidence and ability to make life different for children.
Low Self Esteem - low levels of belief in self, abilities and sense of self worth.

Majority Identification - identification with, appreciation of and application of known majority attitudes, values and beliefs.

Majority Alienation - feelings of being separate and apart from majority attitudes, values and beliefs, by choice or by actual and/or feelings of majority rejection.

Minority Affiliation - affiliation with another minority group to gain acceptance and support and/or to escape identification as native.

Nativeness Ignored - meaning or relationship of native ethnicity to the individual is ignored or avoided.

Nativeness non-issue in community - need to be affirmed as native person, not perceived or address in community

Residential School - demeaning life experience of forced institutionalization, which instilled fear, anger, resentment towards majority and church.

Spirituality - feeling, appreciation that life is guided by a greater force, which may or may not include ritual practices.

Stereotypic Identification - Internalization and acceptance of native stereotypes as true.

Statement Identifiers in Appendix A

Child - Statements made in reference to one's children.

Ch - Abbreviation for reference to one's own childhood.

Adol - Abbreviation for reference to one's adolescence.

E Ad - Abbreviation for reference to one's early adulthood.

Ad - Abbreviation for reference to one's adulthood.

Md Ad - Abbreviation for reference to one's middle adulthood

Lt Ad - Abbreviation for reference to one's late adulthood

CO-RESEARCHER ONE

Co-researcher one (CO1) is 23 years of age and a *Cree Treaty Indian*. Born in Saskatchewan, he moved to Vancouver with his family at the age of three. He graduated from high school in Vancouver and moved to Alberta several years ago. He is married to

a woman of Irish ancestry and recently completed 2 years of university. He is now working in a large urban setting but is planning to return to university to complete his education at some time in the future. Career goals are undefined at this point.

Living in Vancouver, CO1 attributed some of his life hardships to the fact that his mom "grew up in a residential school and she had quite a rough life, a lot of drinking". He remembers his childhood as being fairly positive, and himself as being "pretty popular" among his peers. During summer holidays his family would go back to the reserve in Saskatchewan and "enjoy my cousins and the freedom they had". He viewed his cousins as "more responsible than the kids I grew up with in Vancouver". In the city he was exposed to life's real hardships, and saw young talented [Indian] people die from alcoholism. As a youngster he did not understand the racism directed at him. At around age eleven, as CO1 describes it, a young boy came up to him and said "You are an Indian aren't ya? I said 'Yeah'. And he said 'you're going to be drunk on skid row when you grow up'(laughs). I didn't understand what he meant by that. I said 'baloney' and walked away from him. Didn't feel too good after that". CO1 suffered through at least several more such experiences, and started to feel confused. "I wasn't exactly white and I wasn't exactly Indian". Because of his physical features he found other minority groups would include him, thinking he was one of them. He grasped onto this acceptance, even participating in the ridicule of other native people. There was "a native family, they would always be the brunt of the joke. I'd be sitting there in the background laughing too. I didn't feel too good after that". He liked the feeling of just being "one of the guys". He also made life choices which separated him from the Indian image, such as not drinking, not smoking, not becoming promiscuous.

After high school he followed his friends to college, not going because he wanted to, but feeling "like I was pushed there" because all his friends [security] were going. He found he was not succeeding there and decided to go to a Christian college thinking "this will be great, Christians just view people as people". He found this was not so and ended

up with the "outcast group". He sunk into a hole of depression, "I failed everything" and ended up in a hospital psychiatric ward. Ironically he found the environment he'd been looking for. "The taboo topics were out, you could talk to any body about any thing...My eyes were just opened, I could see things for what they were". When he started to think of ways to make the world appreciate his existence, he first began thinking violently. "I'd make them know I was here". But then his thinking shifted "if I could do something really negative, I could probably go to the other extreme". Returning to school he began his studies with a new vigor, opening himself, expressing himself, disregarding the value of the marks he was going to receive. He was surprised to find his change was appreciated. "All of a sudden I started to get these really terrific marks".

Moving to Alberta he met native people who challenged his internalized stereotypic beliefs such as when he heard someone was Metis he said to himself "Metis, oh their father is white" and he found that the father in the family was Native. Or "Well, they get their smarts from the white side of the family" and he found out the native grandfather was university educated. He stated "suddenly you start realizing you don't have to be white". He indicated it was this exposure to educated and spiritual native professionals that first allowed him to perceive the possibility of living an integrated lifestyle. He then pursued education himself, including aspects which would develop his native identification. "I already took 1st year Cree". He could now go to his mother and grandmother and they "tutored" him. He now more confidently expresses his pride and opinion regarding native people, demonstrated by "people say, if you don't drink you're not Native', I say 'baloney, if you drink you're not Native'".

Of the life choices he made in adolescence, he says he may have "made them before because he was Native", but now he appreciates the value of those choices in themselves. Not drinking and smoking keeps him healthy and, being married now, he appreciates himself.

From the interview with CO1, significant statements are extracted and paraphrased and themes developed (see Appendix A Table 1). The statements are then organized in time, to exemplify lived-experience (see Table 4). These are then explained by summarizing lived experiences in relation to the development of self, or sense of identity.

TABLE 4

Cluster of Themes for CO1

Childhood	(Excerpt Nos. from Appendix A, Table 1)
Cultural Diffusion	(6, 8, 14)
Death	(14, 15, 21)
Anomie	(13)
Native Identification	(2, 3, 4, 19, 20, 31)
Group Cohesion	(9, 22, 23)
Exposure to Racism	(5, 6, 7, 9)
Cultural Confusion	(10)
Majority Alienation	(35, 36)
Adolescence	
Minority Affiliation	(38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45)
Cultural Confusion	(34, 42)
Stereotypical Identification	(37)
Exposure to Racism	(39)
Identity Crisis	(43, 46)
Majority Alienation	(44)
Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic Images	(62, 64, 66)
Life Choices	(63, 64, 65, 66)
Cultural Separation	(83)
Early Adulthood	
Cultural Integration	(1, 11, 25, 57, 88, 90, 92, 95, 96)
Nativeness Identification	(24, 26, 60, 74, 89, 93, 94)
Group Struggle	(16, 58, 61)
Cultural Confusion	(16)
Majority Alienation	(16, 17, 32, 76, 77, 86, 91)
Stereotypic Identification	(18, 56, 68, 69, 70, 85)
Cultural Restoration	(26, 29, 75)
Residential School	(27)
Group Cohesion	(28, 33, 73)
Healing /Life Change	(47, 48, 50, 51, 55)
Crisis Conjuncture	(49)
Independent Identity	(53, 54, 59, 67, 71, 84, 85, 88, 96)
Cultural Separation	(72, 81, 82)
Spirituality	(96)
Hope	(79)
Group Assertion	(88)
Disillusionment with Native Community	(80)

Lived Experience and Identity Development of CO1

In early childhood CO1 had a natural appreciation of self; he valued and saw himself as valued among his peers. He was exposed to the positive experiences of native life on the reserve and appreciated the differences in life style there. In Vancouver he was exposed to the anomie of city life, including the death of two young native men seen as important in his childhood. Still he did not make any connection between Natives on reserve, in the city, or with himself. Ethnicity was not a factor by which he evaluated his life. When, around eleven, he became the object of racism, he only began to understand ethnicity and what it meant to him. He began to experience cognitive dissonance or cultural confusion; his natural appreciation of self struggled with new feelings of group and self depreciation, and a recognition of being apart from the majority. He began to feel embarrassed and ashamed to be Native.

In his transition from childhood to adolescence he began to strengthen his affiliations with other minority groups recognizing them as a means to gain group support and security. He participated in racist activities aimed at his ethnic group, to protect himself, but this compounded his inner feelings of confusion and self depreciation. He found that within the different minorities he may or may not have been rejected if he exposed his native ethnicity. This instilled in him that his acceptance as an individual was conditional and related to his nativeness. He began to accept stereotypic images as being true, thus limited his future opportunities and he reduced his own academic initiatives. However he did make self-preserving choices in the face of these images: he would not drink, smoke or be promiscuous. Although he did attend a post secondary institution, it was only to maintain contact with his security group and in the end this was not enough to sustain his emotional needs. He sought out a theological institution in which he hoped he could escape, and be recognized as a person of value, free from racial limitations. The plan failed and he was again shunted to the group of outcasts. Unable to cope with what had escalated into an emotional crisis, he ended up in a psychiatric unit.

Ironically it was here he found the environment free of racial definitions and he was able to begin to explore the meaning of life and experiences. He experienced a healing/life change in which he felt that he was able to open and just let everything out; he saw the whole world in a new way. He gained a new appreciation of himself. In this new respect for himself he reached a point in which he was deciding how to make the world know his worth. He contemplated the strength of his evil potential, but then decided his good potential must have equal strength. It was a choice for positive strength which re-opened the door to his future. He returned to school and his self-respect and openness reflected in his work and his work was appreciated by the educational institution. His growth in self esteem was affirmed. It was during this time he had made the transition from adolescence to early adulthood.

Although CO1 had gained a new appreciation of self, nativeness as a component again became an issue but in a new way. CO1 then met native individuals who were leading an integrated life style. They were successful in the majority society, yet strived to maintain spiritual and traditional values. His own stereotypic identifications were challenged and vanished in the face of new realities. He started to see he could value himself as a native person in a majority society. He began to express pride in native and majority group differences, and worked on developing group connections for himself through language. He strengthened his native identifications. He began to appreciate the struggles of native people related to his own experiences, and to historical facts. Now he has a more mature approach to evaluating the positive and negative of both groups. He has hope for native people and goals for himself. He has a sense of identity

CO-RESEARCHER TWO

Co-researcher two (CO2) is 31 years of age and is an Okanagan treaty Indian. Raised on reserve, she worked as an office manager for three years in a community close to the reserve where she still resides. She then returned to college for two years and is

presently undecided about her educational goals. She is raising two boys in a common law relationship.

Raised on the reserve by her native father and non-native mother, she stated the family operated as a nuclear unit. "Our family was isolated from the reserve because we didn't associate with anybody who drank so that cut out a lot of our relatives". Separated from larger society, they also existed within but separated from the native community. "In our family there wasn't much talk about being Indian or pride of our heritage". Her only memory of a reference being made to her nativeness in the home, was when her father teasingly asked her 'why' she was cheering for the cowboys while watching a western movie. Her reaction "I felt like I had betrayed something. It almost felt like those were my uncles out there, my whole family, I was cheering against". Other memories related to ethnic awareness included an incident on the native school bus, with two white boys who were objects of daily ridicule. "One time I got on the bus and there was no where to sit except with one of these white kids and I was so horrified, I just cried". In school she experienced rejection from a little boy on whom she had a crush and stated "I blamed that rejection on me being native". Generally though aware of her native ethnicity, the relevance of it was ignored within the home. In reflecting on her childhood CO2 recalls "My mother's family were against my mother getting married to my dad, they tried to bribe her with a trip". As a young child, she didn't quite understand what her siblings meant when they said "we really didn't quite measure up to the white grandchildren". In the emotional arenas of the family she perceived "my older brother, he doesn't really look like an Indian and I always saw him as being favoured and not me". She felt her mother's usual response to emotional problems of "don't be stupid", had long lasting effects, leaving her with little "faith" in herself. All these memories would remain intact.

In junior high school she had little contact with other native "kids", because she was in "higher divisions with more intelligent kids, who had money, secure with them

selves". She expressed some annoyance in "their problems indirectly affected" her. Other girls were being called "squaws" and getting into fights, the school responded by calling in all the native students and telling them to ignore the situation, while saying nothing to the non-native students involved. She felt the communication was "You're not worth trying to solve any problem". She also remembered a TV show, in grade 9 or 10 which had a very negative effect on her. In "this show about Indians drunk on the streets, this woman, must have been 60 years old walking down the street and this man about the same age as she comes along and lifts up her shirt and starts sucking on her breasts, I was just horrified". Following the movie she did not want to attend school because she was ashamed to be associated with the show. "I got kind of mad; its like their behavior is reflecting on me". She saw her siblings as having different experiences than her own. Her own sister's "social life had very little to do with Indians, nothing, except our family". Communication within the family was often impersonal and made it difficult for her know exactly how her siblings experienced life. She herself later became more involved in the community through participation in sports.

In early adulthood, she had her two children and chose to remain at home until they started school. Basically she operated within the reserve community, maintaining a close interdependent relationship with her parents. She began gaining an appreciation for attitudes towards life within the community such as "who ever has money pays, everyone has their own money, but if somebody is short they don't have to worry". She compared this to non-native money values "I saw this girl walk with just a shirt in - 20 weather, she wouldn't take a dime off me, that I was ready to give her". She differentiated between the cultures often preferring the "more relaxed" attitude of native people.

It was with the beginning of her post secondary education the issue of her nativeness became "a preoccupation". In school she feared she might be called on to give her perspective as a native person on native issues, and she "didn't have much of an opinion".

Because she perceived a lot of the native culture to be lost, she felt she had "no place to go learn". She vacillated between seeing "a lot of potential in spirituality", and thinking "a lot of it isn't true". She saw the reserve as separated from the "regular world". Living there she states "I feel safe on the reserve, but I also feel its sort of entrapping".

She stated she was raising her children in much the same manner as she herself was raised, further they were "not interested" in learning about native heritage. She feels they presently have good high self-esteem, however she does worry about them. She worries about the oldest "being discriminated against". She sometimes thinks the youngest has a better chance, because "he doesn't look like an Indian" and she sometimes fears she favours him, "like my mother". This frightens her and she fights it because "it is a ugly thing". She herself is in the middle of sorting out her feelings regarding her nativeness. "In my own image I have a lot of confusion and I don't have a clear self image or a strong self-esteem. Its hard for me to believe I will never be accepted as a regular person". As a native person she feels that the negative aspects are almost insurmountable. "Its hard for me to make goals for myself because I always think I have a handicap".

From the interview with CO2 significant statements are extracted and paraphrased and themes developed (see Appendix A, Table 2). The statements are then organized in time, to exemplify lived-experience (see Table 5). These are then explained by summarizing lived experience in relation to development of self, or sense of identity

TABLE 5

Cluster of Themes for CO2

Childhood
Exposure to Racism
nativeness Ignored
Cultural Diffusion
Cultural Confusion
Loss of Esteem
Group Alienation
Majority Identification

(Excerpt Nos. from Appendix A, Table 2)
(1, 2, 9, 10, 11)
(3, 4)
(5, 11)
(5, 9)
(12, 13, 14, 15, 27)
(18, 19, 21, 24)
(20, 48, 23)

Table 5 continued

Adolescence	
Native Identification	(25)
Majority Identification	(28)
Exposure to Racism	(29,30)
Hyper-sensitivity to Stereotypic Images	(31,33)
Adulthood	
Cultural Separation	(7,17,53, 54,57, 58,81)
Low Self-Esteem	(16,79,80)(Child-75,76,77)
Native Identification	(22,52,55,82,83,84,85,86,87, (88,89)
Hyper-sensitivity to Stereotypic Images	(32,34,35,73)(Child-74)
Majority Alienation	(36,37,39,40)
Majority Identification	(38, 60, 62,63)
Identity Crisis	(41,42,43,64)
Disillusionment with native Community	(44, 45, 50, 59, 61)
Lack of Resources	(47, 65, 66, 67) (Child-67)
Personal Value	(90)
nativeness Ignored	(26)
Cultural Confusion	(46,64,49)
Group Alienation	(51)
Cultural Integration	(Child-68,69,)(Child,70,71)
Extended Family	(Child-72)

Lived Experience and Identity Development of CO2

In early childhood CO2 lived a stable but insulated existence, isolated from the majority and native community. Nativeness was not a discussed issue in the home. The mother is a non-native and she worked to instill the values of the majority in the family. Early experiences which lead to some awareness of ethnicity began with school. When CO1 was with a native majority, she and the other native children were in a position of superiority and belittled others who do not in-group. However in school where she was a minority, she was subjected to out-of-group rejection. CO2 began to recognize herself as looking more "Indian" than some of her siblings and witnessed her siblings move away from the native community. CO2 developed as sense of inadequacy through an emotionally limited relationship with her mother. Stories about the maternal family not wanting her parents to marry, or siblings referring a lesser stature within the non-native side of the family were experiences which contributed to the beginning of CO2's

sense of low self-esteem. CO2's maturity level did not enable her to really understand the relevance of her experiences, although she was to use them in later reflections.

Through much of adolescence CO2 was able to avoid having to deal with understanding her ethnicity in relation to herself. In school she excelled and was in higher divisions than other natives in the school. She was disgruntled when Natives who were experiencing difficulties caused events which lead to the institutions inclusion of her with the rest of the native students. She then saw the handling of the situation as unfair to the native students, but saw herself as separated from the situation. The need to deal with ethnicity is seen in her response to a show which exemplified the stereotypic Indian. CO2 was mortified, she saw the people in the show as a direct reflection on herself as a native person. She however did not deal with her emotional struggle, and the confusion surrounding her identity. In the native community she began to participate community activities, gained an in-group support system on the reserve.

Early adulthood was tempered by the birth of her children and the decision to stay home with them until they started school. During this time, the majority of CO2's life centered around native friends, community activities and her family. It was only when she returned to college, she felt again a pressure to deal with her native ethnicity. She began a difficult emotional struggle, feeling she had no knowledge, traditional or other wise, to understand what a native person is today.

Presently the only images she has are the stereotypic images, which still cause her the same pain as in her adolescence, and the traditional image, which she feels is either lost or ill-represented. Although she sees life on the reserve as offering her security, it is also recognized as an escape from venturing out into the majority. Present life on the reserve is also viewed with skepticism in terms of its dynamics and structures. She sees herself as potentially stagnating on the reserve but almost sees life off the reserve as incomprehensible. She is afraid she will always be judged by the stereotypical image, a person of inferior status. She is also attempting to reconcile experiences of childhood

in relation to her present low self-esteem and in terms of her relationship with her children. This is affecting her ability to make plans or see a future for herself. An inability to deal with self-depreciation, group depreciation and majority alienation is contributing to an overwhelming state of confusion, identity crisis.

CO-RESEARCHER THREE

Co-researcher three (CO3) is 39 years of age, born a Dakota Treaty Indian, she was raised on a Sioux reserve in Saskatchewan. She was the middle child of 13 siblings. Now married into an Alberta Cree tribe, she is raising four children. She has recently taken a break from post secondary studies to take a supervisory and program development position on reserve.

CO3 remembers her childhood fondly. Cultural heritage was an integral part of family life. "I do not remember a time that my father did not take us to a pow wow". He used to say. "As long as have red skin you'll never be anything but native so you might as well be proud of it". Her mother was a strong Christian and they went to Christian schools, but CO3 states she "was very lucky to have the best of both worlds and not to have conflicting parents". She felt her childhood gave her "the strong basis of understanding who we are as native people". Her father also impressed the value of education "he wanted us to leave home and go to school, and hopefully gain an occupation where we would be self-sufficient off reserve".

Leaving the reserve in her adolescence she began to get caught up with trends of the time. "The government allowed us to go to public school in 1966. Therefore we thought we were better than the reserve Indians that stayed home. It was better if you didn't identify yourself as Indian". She felt she went through an "identity crisis at 17 and/or 23" at which time she felt she had a "rough time inside" of her self.

She began working off the reserve in a government job, and found herself living a very "scheduled life" participating less and less in native community activities. She

decided to return to the community but she found she was alienated from her relatives "I went home, they all walked away from me, I wasn't part of them anymore. I was very hurt". She did not merely accept this, she began the process of working her way back into the community. "It took me 6-8 months of hard work, of wanting to be accepted again. I vowed I would never do that again". Even though she had to work at getting back into the community, she did not regret her work outside the community "I made to the top of government, so I kind of filled two goals at the same time".

After marrying and moving to another native community she encountered some difficulties in pursuing further education. First because she feared another identity crisis and second "its hard on our leadership 99% of the people going to school are women". Once back in school, however, she found she "can talk to anybody and not feel untraditional"; not be contradicting any social rules of the reserve.

Today, she finds her inner strengths come "having a lot of contact with native people and ceremonies". In terms of her family she finds living on reserve "healthy for my children, they have a sense of belonging and understanding and access to traditional things they couldn't possibly have in the city". She is aware of the developing processes her children face and sees her role as "reinforcing the beauty of being native and allowing them them to grow". Although she has suffered some "grief" in her life, she feels "being native gave me the courage to face those hardships. She believes "the great spirit doesn't cause bad things to happen to you" and that she can "use those experiences to help other people". She is personally confident she "can challenge anything". Although she sees good and bad things in both the native and majority cultures, she promotes cultural integration. "The main thing I'd like to say is to get your degree or masters, if you love your own culture or traditions, going out and getting a whitemans' degree enhances your Indianess".

From the interview with CO3 significant statements are extracted and paraphrased and themes developed (see Appendix A, Table 3). The statements are then organized in

time, to exemplify lived-experience (see table 6). These are then explained by summarizing lived experience in relation to development of self, or sense of identity.

Table 6

Cluster of Themes for CO3

Childhood	(Excerpt Nos. from Appendix A, Table 3)
Native Identification	(1, 5)
Cultural Integration	(2, 3, 4)
Family Pride	(6, 7)
Adolescence	
Cultural Confusion	(9)
Majority Identification	(10, 11)
Majority Alienation	(10, 12)
Native Identification	(15,)
Identity Crisis	(18)
Early Adulthood	
Majority Identification	(26)
Group Alienation	(27, 28, 30)
Group Cohesion	(29)
Adulthood	
Independent Identity	(8, 31, 32, 38, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 55, 62)
Majority Identification	(Child -13, 24)
Group Alienation	(Child-14)
Native Identification	(16, 19, 22, 23, 25, 37, 40, 41, 49)
	(Child-23)
Group Struggle	(17, 33, 35, 38, 43, 45, 48, 52)
Identity Crisis	(18, 54)
Spirituality	(20, 21, 31, 42, 44, 58, 62)
Cultural Integration	(34, 36, 39, 41, 53, 63, 65, 66, 68)
Work with natives	(39)
Group Cohesion	(41, 42, 56)
Hope	(50, 51, 66)
Cultural Separation	(54, 57, 59, 60)
Extended Family	(56)
Personal Value	(56)
Majority Alienation	(64, 67)

Lived Experience and Identity Development of CO3

CO3 was raised on reserve, in a family which promoted and practiced cultural integration. CO3's early childhood experiences promoted a self love, appreciation of the

richness of her own heritage, and appreciation of the opportunities of within majority society.

During adolescence external interventions and attitudes of the time took prevalence over family and family values. A new freedom, education among the majority was perceived to be contingent on one's dissociation from the native group. She perceived that one was expected to take on the values of the majority. CO3 suffered an inner turmoil regarding her identity which seemed to extend from late adolescence to early adulthood.

In early adulthood, CO3 recognized her shift of identifying with the majority almost to the exclusion of her own family and community. She decided this was not what she wanted for her self. She wanted to feel and be recognized as a native person. However she found the community had also recognized her change in attitude and she was deemed an outsider. She however was not willing to complacently accept this and began the process of re-establishing her credibility in the community. Although this was a long and complex process, having re-established herself in the community she felt balanced again. She did not relinquish the sense of accomplishment she acquired out of the community, but maintained she felt better having a balance between native and majority systems.

From adulthood to present, CO3 has strived to maintain a culturally integrative approach to life. She recognized the assets and limitations of both the native community and majority society, but she insists that a balanced combination can only benefit both groups and especially the individual. She seeks the comfort, security and cultural aspects of the reserve as a place to develop a solid foundation of self respect and esteem for her children. She allows them to experience the trials of development, but makes herself available to share her learnings and provide guidance. She sees spiritual balance and education as the key to native people being able to make life different for themselves as a group. CO3 actively works to bring this perspective to life in the community. She

has a strength and self assurance about her, and a willingness to allow others to experience their own learnings. She however is also willing and able to promote venues which will assist others to make transitions to their own benefit. She has a solid sense of self, an established identity.

CO-RESEARCHER FOUR

Co-researcher four (CO4) is 51 years of age and an Okanagan status Indian. She was educated in British Columbia, has a grade 10 education, is a qualified nurses aid and has secretarial training. She raised three children as a single parent and presently still has one child residing at home. She maintains a responsible job in a large urban setting, which includes the counselling of others.

CO4 was raised in her early child off the reserve, usually in isolated rural areas of B.C. by her mother and step-father. Of the relationship between her mother and step-father she says "He never let her speak her language or very seldom let her come to the reserve to visit". She does remember a to visit her grandmother's "she'd be singing, I guess they were Indian songs, but I didn't know that back then". The death of her mother, at age nine, virtually wiped out early childhood memories and left her grieving "I know she was there but I can't picture her. Only time I can picture her was when she was in her coffin...I used to have these fantasies. I used to think maybe she was deformed and maybe Aunt M was really my mother and she didn't want to tell me because she had gotten so sick". The death of her mother had also left her isolated, the stepfather was the father of her siblings but not her own. "I'm the only one who didn't have a whole brother or sister". She established a role as the boss of her half siblings and took on many of the caregiver tasks left by death of her mother. The step-father ingrained the conception that natives were savages and by implication inferior. The step-father "used to say if we didn't behave he'd send us back to the savage Indians. I thought Indians savages were people you weren't supposed to like". She has no memory of ever being told herself that

she was Indian. "I didn't know he was talking about my relative". In puberty her sense of self-value was depreciated by the betrayal trust of the stepfather who attempts molestation.

She moved back to the reserve, where her sense of identity was further assaulted. "Aunt M and them, they must have told me I was an Indian. "I couldn't believe it. I didn't want to believe it". She used the analogy, to express the impact of this experience, of being adopted "all of a sudden being told you're not the kid you thought you were. I can see where these kids brought up in white homes, how they feel, the way they feel". The reserve, however, provided an insulated environment where she was not called on to address the ramifications of her situation. She did not have the internal resources to deal with this and repressed it. "No-one argues about it. Probably said "Me?" and you don't think about it till later". The extended family in the meantime supplied caring support and helped establish a new base of moral values which she incorporated. She experienced some uncertainty and limits in her life during her adolescent years primarily related to poverty and drinking of one primary caretaker. This motivated her to strike out on her own to take control of her own life and establish her own independence.

Once in nursing training she met a nursing instructor with whom she strongly identified. "She had a way of explaining life and making it so you understood". Once becoming a nurse (a caregiver) she remained in the field for the next eighteen years. It was while working in the hospital that she was confronted by prejudice among peers/staff directed at natives. "Hey, they're talking about Indians and I'm an Indian". She struggled with the desire to deny native ethnicity "made me feel like I shouldn't say I'm native because of what they were saying" and the need to be proud of herself as a Native". CO4 consciously minimized the importance of her nativeness "I'm not like that, real proud of being Native, almost more proud of the other nationalities". Her strong experience of empathic pain, "I felt for people, I felt like if someone was being

prejudiced against them, they were being prejudice against me" countered that minimization. Having no positive foundation for native identification she did not know what to with her conflicting feelings. Attempts to defend self and other natives were discounted in explanation that she is different. She experienced frustration, anger, and pain regarding her own ambivalence. She was driven in a need to protect her own children from her experiences. "They used to come home and say so and so was calling me "Indian", I wanted them to be proud of themselves... proud no matter what color they were". She developed stories such as "When God was making people he used to bake them in the oven, just like cookies. His first batch he cooked too much and they were the negroes and the second batch he didn't cook enough and they were the white people, and the last batch was just right and they were the Indians". She always made sure she was working and impressed the value that "education was really important" on them.

Only when she returned to the native community at age 33, and attended a workshop, was she given the opportunity to explore what it meant to be Native within a positive framework. She was finally affirmed as a native person. She was euphoric "felt better about myself, on a high". However, within-the-community affirmation as a Native was not a perceived need and then "everything went back to normal".

A base, however had been established, this was evident in that, she began to perceive and identify cultural differences and express ethnocentric pride in these differences. "I think native people are more secure with each other, more friendly". She felt a sense of comradeship with other Natives and experienced with-in-group affirmation and security. "You see another native person, they'll smile or acknowledge you. You are another brother or sister".

As her sense of self strengthened, she was more confident in evaluating her own values and choices. This was evident in her response to the comment of a non-native co-worker, who stated "I never mix my professional life with my social life" implying CO4 having coffee with a client was improper. CO4's thought was "Gee. I sort of felt it was

odd, she thought she was too good for her clients. For me it was the natural thing to do". Today, she recognizes there are other resources outside herself in terms of her children. She is laid back, confident and secure in her future. The only lingering source of anxiety is the death of her mother "sometimes when things go wrong, I wish my mother was still around". There is still a soft mourning and an apprehension of that from which she cannot protect her children.

From the interview with CO4 significant statements are extracted and paraphrased and themes developed (see Appendix A, Table 4). The statements are then organized in time, to exemplify lived-experience (See Table 7). These are then explained by summarizing lived experience in relation to development of self, or sense of identity.

Table 7

Cluster of Themes for CO4

Childhood	(Excerpt Nos. from Appendix A Table 4)
Cultural Diffusion	(1, 6, 13, 14, 15)
Minority Affiliation	(2)
Exposure to Racism	(3, 7)
Group Alienation	(4, 5, 7, 8)
Isolation	(9)
Grief	(10, 11)
Adolescence	
Cultural Diffusion	(16)
Group Cohesion	(17, 18, 26)
Native Identification	(19, 27)
Identity Crisis	(20, 21, 22, 23, 24)
Nativeness Non-issue in Community	(25, 32)
Majority Identification	(29, 31)
Group Alienation	(39)
Early Adulthood	
Exposure to Racism	(33)
Cultural Confusion	(33)
Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic Image	(34, 37, 38, 41)
Majority Alienation	(35, 39, 40)
Native Identification	(36)
Stereotypic Identification	(36)
Group Alienation	(39)

Table 7 continued

Adulthood	
Native Identification	(42)
Healing/Life Change	(4)
Nativeness Non-issue in Community	(44)
Isolation	(45)
Group Alienation	(45,47,48)
Majority Alienation	(45,46)
Majority Identification	(47)
Low Self Esteem	(49,50,51)
Middle Adulthood	
Group Cohesion	(42)
Low Self Esteem	(1)
native Identification	(54,57,62,65,82)(Child-70)
Group Cohesion	(54,57,62,66,82)
Cultural Integration	(58,59,76)(Child-72)
Independent Identity	(63,73,74,75,81)(Child-80)
Stereotypic Identification	(67)
Grief	(68,69,78,79,83)
Spirituality	(72)

Lived Experience and Identity Development of CO4

CO4 was raised in early childhood away from the reserve community. Following the death of her mother, she felt isolated within the family because she was the only one left without a parent. However she identified with the views of her step-father, who instilled the idea that native people were inferior. As she was not aware of her own ethnicity this did not pose a problem. This was the context in which her identified herself and determined her value.

She returned to the native community, because of an emotional and abusive betrayal by her step-father. It was there her sense of personal value was further eradicated by being informed she was a Native. Social rules of the community did not allow her to challenge this information, and native ethnicity was not an issue within the community, therefore her needs went unperceived. Native ethnicity and childhood beliefs remained unreconciled. The insulation of the community and extended family support, however, allowed her to develop a sense of security within the community. As she got older a

desire to be independent and free of the restrictions of poverty and an alcoholic relative motivated her to pursue career goals out in the majority.

She found a majority role model whom she could identify with and life seemed to be advancing as it should. Out in the working world, however, she was again confronted with racism against Natives. This brought to the surface the battle which had been suppressed within. She remembered her step-father's remarks and then knew they had in essence been directed at her. There were immediate feelings of pain and self depreciation. Attempts to refute racist remarks are disregarded. This compounded attitudes which were group-depreciating, self-depreciating and emphasized separateness from majority. CO4 did not know how to deal with these attitudes. She wanted to protect her children, and made efforts to ensure their pride in themselves as individuals and as "Indians". She strived to demonstrate the value of majority attitudes and values.

In her early thirties CO4 moved back to the native community, where she was exposed to positive images of Natives through education. This provided the first affirmation of her identity as a native person. The need for continued affirmation, however went unperceived within the community. It however may have been the experience which allowed for the slow integration of native identifications. It appears to have been almost an unconscious progression for as she talked through experiences one could sense the anxiety/anger confusion she had regarding her own ambivalence, yet one could also see the pride emancipate from her when she talked about the ethnocentric values she had established. This contrasted with her hesitancy in talking about the confrontation of prejudice in her younger days. In some ways the anxiety of earlier experiences of prejudice sea-saw in and out of just enough to maintain the ambivalence.

Now out-of-community again, and although aspects of her struggle may not be totally resolved, she expressed more confidence in her own established value system, her world-view by which she now defined herself. Integration of native identity had been an

essential grounding foundation in the establishment of an independent identity. An independent identity was evidenced by her ability to pick and chose between cultures, those values which she felt best works for her. Her sense of self was no longer threatened by external evaluation. She was willing to allow her children to have their own experiences, knowing they would be different from her own and finally she was content and secure in her future.

CO-RESEARCHER FIVE

Co-researcher 5 (CO5) is a 78 year old male, of Cree ancestry. He is treaty Indian, presently residing in his home community, a reserve in Northern Alberta. Educated in an Alberta residential school from 1918-1928. Presently he lives alone, but he maintains close contact with all his family members. He is involved in the native political scene as well as sitting on the board of a provincial native organization.

CO5 did not expand on his early years , except to say he experienced a lot of discrimination, having no father. Residential school years were described as a painful time in his life, that affected him for many years. "I call it hell, because that is the worst part of my life...I think that had a big affect on my life. I always lived in fear....We were not treated like human beings and I lived in fear". The stress of this time can exemplified in in this experience:

" That year a lot of people died, there was a flu going around. And that year I was sent to the convent. I'd go to bed, and some of the boys and we would wake up and in the morning, they'd be dead. And I would be awful nervous watching these kids dying. They would be alright when they'd go to bed and in the morning they'd be dead. I was waiting for my turn but my turn never did come. I am very happy to be alive today".

Similarly he described the happiest day of his life as the day he got out of the convent. However even within the safety of the native community he continued to be affected by his experiences in the residential school. "If I heard a wagon coming I would hide in the bush to see, if it was an Indian, I'd face him, right on, and if it was a white man I'd hide

until he went through. That's because fear was bred into me that affected me a lot". He stated that others who went through the boarding schools were affected the same way "they all say the same thing "that's what destroyed my life was a residential school". He stated the poor treatment by the nuns of the institutions ingrained a conditioned fear which continues to to be passed down through the generations "our grandchildren cannot face the whiteman, even to go look for a job". His only solace related to this experience was "I'm happy to be alive today"

CO5 felt his life opportunities were limited at that time. "Because I was a Native I had no choice. I had to take the directions that I had. There was no opportunity at that time". He tried homesteading but was unable to make a go of it. He then made a living trapping "because there was nothing else" and in the summer he would go in search of labour work on farms in the surrounding area. Married at the age of nineteen, he had three girls, his wife however, died in childbirth and he remained single for a few years. He then married again and raised a family of nine girls and three boys. He states this was a time of his life when he was "not thinking straight". He continued to feel "like a lower class of person". He stated there was something wrong when "I felt degraded because I could not vote in my own country until 1962". He turned to alcohol, drinking "on the quite". When native people became citizens they were allowed into the bars and "I happened to be one of the first ones who went into the bar that time". Drinking began to affect his marriage. "Finally the old lady would get after me, after awhile I started giving her a drink and I made her into an alcoholic". In 1963, they decided together to quite drinking, but he stated his wife turned to Bingo and is "worse now with bingo". Although he and his wife were not able to stay together, they still live close by each other and he continues to fulfil his "obligations" to her. He maintains daily contact with his children and grandchildren. "I still have my children, they care for me".

In his later years he decided to take a counsellor training course which changed his perspective on life. Although he was "a old man already" he felt he was able to develop

aspects of himself that in essence had been cut off, particularly in the emotional area "like crying, crying was wrong if you were a man". Getting in touch with his feelings and gaining new life skills "changed my life". "I was brought up to be a second class citizen and in fear of everything". He sees life skills as essential for everyone, in that they teach people about life, feelings and themselves. He confidently states "as native people we're different...Nobody can fool me and tell me I'm not different".

Today, CO5 expresses concern regarding reserve community life. Politically, he feels, "The government helps us make the problems, they don't listen to us. Indian affairs make all the decisions so I think the Indian Act has been harming us". At the community level there is a division of the people "we fight amongst ourselves". Socially, he describes an anomic state. "What I see now is a breeding ground for alcoholism and drugs, not only that you get stuck with reserve life. You're thinking is not beyond your nose". He feels the initiative of the young people today is weak and suggests the reason people stay on the reserve is "they got no future, they got no place to go, they're stuck". He is concerned people in the community are in a vulnerable state where they can be "fooled", and he is concerned about unsavory people bringing in foreign native practices that can be misused. Personally he stays away from that but maintains himself spiritually by doing "my own praying out there in the bush, every trap I set, I say a little prayer. I enjoy life, I believe there is someone looking after us, and I think that is my religion".

He also expresses concern regarding the education of younger children, "these kids are different now, they go to public schools and they are learning all they bad things. They are worse ever since we had integration... we can't handle them". He suggests this situation leads them to trouble with the law. "It hurts me to see jails filled with [native] boys". He sees Natives in the penal system as providing "big business for whites". He suggests these young men in jails might be helped more effectively through the employment of more native staff within the institutions. He firmly believes "natives

can change natives. You don't need a diploma a mile long, an Indians diploma is right here, in his heart "

Alternatively, CO5 expresses pride in the accomplishments of his children in striving for education [university]. In relation to the reserve community he comments "the ones that have the guts are better off than the ones that stay. A person with a good education has a good chance in life". He suggests public education should be directed at teaching the young people the purpose of education. "You know there is a way of telling those people they are in school for a reason. That's the way of life , for the future". He feels the opportunity is there for those with the 'guts' to struggle and work hard. CO5 when asked if he could give advise to native youth, replied "I think it is good to love and respect...to think about the future... to make sacrifices... a person always has to be prepared... to think because there is so much happening out there today".

From the interview with CO5 significant statements are extracted and paraphrased and themes developed (see Appendix A, Table 5). The statements are then organized in time, to exemplify lived-experience (see table 8). These are then explained by summarizing lived experience in relation to development of self, or sense of identity.

Table 8

Cluster of Themes for CO5

Childhood	(Excerpt Nos. from Appendix A, Table 5)
Low Self Esteem	(1, 8)
Minority Affiliation	(2)
Residential School	(3,4,5,6,7,8)
Group Struggle	(8)
Adolescence	
Residential School	(9)
Low Self-Esteem	(9)
Adulthood	
Residential School	(10)
Spirituality	(11, 12,13)
Cultural Confusion	(14)
Independent Identity	(16)
Group Struggle	(16)
Majority Alienation	(17)

Table 8 continued

Anomie (Family Instability)	(8, 19)
Mid-Adulthood Life Choice	(27)
Late Adulthood	
Healing Life Change	(22,23)
Cultural Integration	(21,41,42,43,52,53, 55,56)
Disillusionment with native Community	(25,44,45,46,47,48,49,50)
Work with natives	(26)
Majority Alienation	(1,25,27,28,36,37)
Group Alienation	(28,29,33)
Cultural Confusion	(31)(Child-54)
Extended Family	(31,60)
Cultural Separation	(32)
Independent Identity	(34,35,57,40)
Group Struggle	(8,16,44,45)
Anomie	(49,50)
Native Identification	(58)
Group Cohesion	(59,60)

Lived Experience and Identity Development of CO5

In early childhood CO5 was raised on a reserve by a single parent. He said little regarding this time except that he suffered discrimination because he had no father and associated with two other boys who shared the same situation for the duration of their lives. It was residential school which he felt had the most effect on his life. Traumatized by ill-treatment and faced with a situation in which he feared for his life, he was a helpless child, consequently he developed a long lasting fear and low self-esteem in relation to the majority.

When he returned to the native community in late adolescence the fear remained with him and he isolated himself for brief time within the community. When he began to pursue a livelihood, he saw his opportunities limited by the government (majority). Seeing his future limited he worked at occupations available to him, trapping and seasonal work. It may be in response to this situation he began drinking, which increased the hardship within his family. He expressed some resentment towards the majority at being given a number [status registration number] and then not being a

recognized citizen until 1962. He felt he had been made to feel like a second class citizen all his life. It may not be coincidence that he quit drinking in 1963, making a statement of appreciating his self-worth in a new way.

It was not until he considered himself an old man, he decided to take some training which began to change his life. This training opened up his emotional channels, which he had shut based on stereotypic beliefs. He got new lease on life and a new respect for learning. Although the progression of CO5's development is sketchy it would seem from his description this experience played an important part in his personal development, gave him a new confidence in his innate abilities.

Today CO5 presents as confident forthright individual. He still recognizes an oppressive relationship with the majority but promotes and practices progressive means in dealing with the situations. CO5 is now politically active as an advisor in the Alberta native community, where he actively promotes cultural integration through education as a means of success, for native young and old people. He expresses an appreciation of native people, seeing them as being essential to making social changes for the group. While he does comment on the stagnation of the native community and the limits it places on its residents, he does acknowledge the shared struggle, and the difficulties people have in going beyond the security of the reserve. He himself, remains on the reserve, with the security of his family around him. He wants to remain active on the political scene, and live the next twenty two years it will take to reach the ripe old age of one hundred.

Overall Synthesis of Native Identity Development

This section is a brief synthesis of the co-researchers' experience. In childhood, the level of native identity development appears to be influenced by individual relationship with the native community. Those raised in isolation from the community appear more susceptible to the external evaluations of the majority. Level of ethnic awareness tends

to be low in childhood, followed by a tendency to conform to majority expectations. This conformity continues through early adolescence until they reach a level of maturity in which they feel a need to understand their role in the world as a native person. The rate of and end point of identity development varies from person to person. It seems that continued identity development depends partly on continuing change in the environment involving either positive or negative experiences with both minority and majority groups. In case of negative experiences, the person may reach a point of emotional crisis in which s/he is not able to function, a condition which may or may not be resolved. Resolutions seem to include positive native identifications. While it would seem all but one of the co-researchers have attained a sense of identity, it is difficult at times to track the experiences which contributed to the development of their sense of identity.

All co-researchers undergo experiences relevant to identity development and quite by accident, their life experiences are related to different historical time periods. While it is the youngest co-researcher (CO1) who seems to make the quickest leap to an established sense of identity, this is achieved by way of an emotional breakdown, he must survive. The oldest co-researcher (CO5) seems to take the longest path to identity development, but it is actually within the same time era as (CO1) that he makes or acts on his identity. In fact if one were to examine the data carefully, it would appear that, it is within in the last twenty years that all the co-researchers, have come to terms with how their nativeness affects their lives in Canada. This may suggest that social issues in the larger community are active, being more facilitating in allowing individuals to explore their identities.

Attainment of a positive identity seems to be related to feelings of self-worth. Self worth being determined by the amount of familial and community support they receive. The background of the parents and parental expectations also become factors in terms of providing the foundation for a positive or negative self-concept, which will in turn

Table 9
Consolidation of Co-researchers' Identity development

Phase Years spanned	CO1 1967-1990	CO2 1959-1990	CO3 1951-1990	CO4 1939-1990	CO5 1912-1990
Childhood	Low level of ethnic awareness (EA) (Diffusion) as EA levels increase CO1 so does rejection of group & self (Conformity)	Low level of ethnic awareness (Diffusion) Moves to greater majority appreciation and away from group (Conformity)	Moderate level of ethnic awareness Unquestioning appreciation of self, group and majority	Low level of ethnic awareness (Diffusion) Racial slurs not associated with self	Moderate level of ethnic awareness Time of intense depreciation of self and majority
Adolescence	Late adolescence uncertainty regarding self, group & majority (Dissonance)	Continues to identify with majority (Conformity)	Begins to identify with majority (Conformity)	Shock of nativeness but does not have to be addressed in community (Diffusion)	Confining self to the community CO3 seeks to protect self and avoid majority (Immersion)
Early Adulthood	Identity Crisis leads to breakdown and gives CO1 time to re-evaluate (Introspection) Gaining new self acceptance, CO1 appreciates world (Synergistic Articulation and Awareness)	As CO2 moves closer to thirties she begins to question her nativeness in respect to life position in the majority. Safe on reserve she is unable to plan for future. (Dissonance)	CO3 begins questioning life goals decides to return to community Here she gains a balance again (Introspection) Although she remains on reserve, she promotes cultural integration as a means to life success (Synergistic Articulation and Awareness)	Although CO4 maintains contact with group she adapts a majority stance and moves away Community (Conformity) Around 33, she is exposed to positive images of natives and begins to address ethnicity (Dissonance & Introspection)	Although CO5 does seasonal work out of community he sees life limited by gov't legislation of the time. Limited future leads to alcoholism (Resistance & Immersion)
Adulthood					

Table 9 (Continued)

Phase	CO1 1967-1990	CO2 1959-1990	CO3 1951-1990	CO4 1939-1990	CO5 1912-1990
Years spanned					
Mid-Adulthood				Having gained more exposure and inclusion in positive native experiences she has begun to feel pride and confidence through cultural integration (Synergistic Articulation & Awareness)	Makes life choice to stop drinking
					Attends self development training, gains new lease in life (Introspection)
Late Adulthood					As elder advisor works in and out of community promoting intercultural development. (Synergistic Articulation & Awareness)

assist or hinder the development of a healthy identity. There also appears to be a need to be affirmed as a native person. Another factor for positive integration is exposure to positive role models who demonstrate that an integrated life-style is achievable for the minority.

In most cases, dissonance seems to precede identity crisis which in turn moves the individual to higher levels of development. Although it appears that there is a possibility of skipping some stages, among all co-researchers the direction of development appears from a global diffused stage stage of ethnic awareness to integrated/differentiated level of awareness.

Discussion in relation to literature

Though a number of studies into identity development have been conducted, the present researcher found none that used a phenomenological approach. In view of this, the attempt here is to relate the present study to ongoing research and will concentrate on the stage concept of identity development rather than on the content of experiences.

As previously referred to in the literature review, models appearing based on Erikson's work on identity development go beyond the linear, hierarchical concept to examine interactions among variables (Atkinson, 1983; Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989). This is a reflection of the complexity of the identity phenomenon. Table 9 is an attempt to relate findings from present research to extant research. It would appear that for at least three of the co-researchers there is a low level of ethnic awareness (i.e., diffusion in identity development), during childhood and other phases. This is probably due to lack of experience or/and meta-cognitive development (Phinney, 1989). In many identity development models (e.g., Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1983; Phinney 1989) this is recognized as the first stage in identity development; however

other models (e.g., Atkinson et al., 1989) omit this stage, perhaps considering it a developmental period when there is no differentiation between the self and non-self. For the two co-researchers identified as having moderate ethnic awareness, CO4's the awareness level is one likely reflecting a parental identification, without understanding the implications (i.e., foreclosure, Marcia, 1983). CO5's ethnic awareness is developed in reaction to being placed in a foreign situation. In Phinney's (1989) study, 55.7% of minority groups studied operated at the diffused stage. As ethnic awareness increases (CO1, CO2, CO3, CO4) so does rejection of minority group and self; to conform to majority expectations to protect self. This stage is described by Atkinson et al. (1989) as the conformity stage of identity development. In essence childhood begins with diffusion and ends with conformity to the dominant culture.

This conformity to the dominant culture continues until a state of uncertainty regarding self, group and majority culture develops, a stage in identity development called dissonance (Atkinson, et al. 1983) or moratorium (Phinney, 1989). A couple of explanations could be given for this change in awareness, CO5 as a child was in a situation externally controlled in which there was no escape from negativity directed at self, and group and emulance of majority values. Alternatively, CO1, CO2, CO3, CO4 appear in their late adolescence and early adulthood to need to sort the parameters of their identity in terms of their nativeness, in order to make confident plans for their future. They have to come to terms with a negatively viewed ethnicity and have limited resources with which to make changes. CO3 has not moved beyond this stage. Some theorists consider this a transition stage, from dissonance to immersion (Highlen, 1988) or resistance and immersion (Atkinson, et al. 1983).

Immersion is when the individual claims identity through his/her ethnic group to the rejection of the majority group. Only CO5 appears to have embraced this position and it may be reflective of a time when native people were legislatively excluded from equally participating in majority society.

The remaining co-researchers (CO1, CO3, CO4) appear to skip the immersion stage, moving towards the introspection stage (Atkinson, et al. 1983) or integration stage (Highlen, et al. 1989), albeit by different avenues. CO4 also advances to this stage. With introspection comes questioning self, group and majority identifications and a process of adopting and internalizing those elements seen to be of positive value irrespective of origin. This is the stage in which CO1 and CO3 experience identity crisis, and in which CO1 has an emotional breakdown. There is a definitive action giving them a time-out in which they may concentrate solely on regaining an internal balance. The transition from dissonance to introspection for CO4 is brought on by an educational experience, which opens the door to positive native identifications. For her (CO4) this appears to be a internalized process, where very little external changes are made, ie friends slowly change over to include minority group. For CO5 the transition to introspection stage spans a lengthy time period, but is spurred on by new education, the focus of which is self-examination.

The final stage is synergistic articulation and awareness (Atkinson, et al. 1983) or transformation which adds a spiritual appreciation of all life (Highlen, et al. 1989). This is the stage where the individual is appreciative of self and selectively appreciative of his/her ethnic group and the majority. All but CO3 appears to have reached this level of identity development. There is a shared spiritual component expressed in an appreciation of the Creator's power and planning, a shared belief that experiences happen as a part of each individual's purpose in this world. People are given opportunities to experience the positive and negative. Utilization and growth however lie with the individual. It is often referred to as the spiritual path, red road, or circle (Storm, 1970).

So it would seem that this study lends some support to existing theories (Atkinson, et al. 1983; Highlen, et al 1988; Phinney, 1989; Marcia, 1980). Although progression is sporadic and appears to skip some or many of the stages identified by the different

theorists, co-researchers' all seem to be moving in a forward progression which includes self appreciation, group appreciation, cultural integration and finally independent identification, and established identity.

CHAPTER V

REFLECTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

A number of implications arise with respect to this study covering areas such as future research, identity development viewed as a series of lived experiences, implications for counselling and education.

Implications for future research

Many researchers have identified numerous factors influencing identity development of minorities in general and Canadian Natives in particular e.g., Gay, 1985; Jarvenpa, 1985; Rotenberg & Cranwell, 1989. Some of these factors identified by these authors include formal education, cultural conflict between the minority and majority cultures; political and economic factors. While some of these studies are qualitative in nature, few if any use phenomenological methods to examine lived experiences of natives that highlight their development of identity. The significance of the present study, because of using a phenomenological approach, was the light it shed on the experiences that portray the effect of native ethnicity on identity development. The findings underscore the complexity of the phenomena under study as they relates to Natives. Factors such as age, cognitive development, where one was born and raised, and parental expectations (socialization and family dynamics), social/historical context, frequency and intensity of experience, psychological differences and level of formal education, were implicitly or explicitly identified by participants as having influenced their sense of identity. In a study of this nature the richness of the experiences and the themes that are extracted allow individuals the opportunity to identify with the experiences they describe. This provides the reader the opportunity to share the world view of the co-researchers and perhaps thereby to gain a greater understanding of personal and greater native issues. One may also realize that s/he are not alone in experiencing some of the confusion that has arisen out of the rapid transition native people have gone through in the last several decades. Natives outside the study may also have an opportunity to examine their

experiences in relation to other Natives. As well it sensitizes Natives to examine their experiences as part of the minority in relation to the majority; to ask searching questions that would help them articulate the positive elements of both cultures towards cultural integration. Thus the revealing value of the present study cannot be overemphasized.

However owing to the complexity of the phenomena and the numerous factors associated with the concept, as earlier alluded to, it seems a phenomenological study such as this has mainly provided directions towards the identification of crucial variables implicated in identity development. It may be conceivable in future to combine a phenomenological study with quantitative studies using traditional methodologies to examine the influence of native ethnicity on identity development.

The five co-researchers studied varied in ages from 23 to 78; thus the meaning of experiences could be explored across a wide framework. Looking at individual experiences reveals that identity development may be associated more with phases than to age as such. However, in future the number of co-researchers may be increased and specific age groups looked at. As earlier referred to, the present study did not include children because my preliminary investigation suggested mature identity issues could not be dealt within childhood. Nevertheless in the context of life-span studies into identity development, the range of subjects studied must necessarily include children.

Implications of Lived-experience

Lived experiences shared by co-researchers has served to point out some crucial experiences seen to have had a direct effect on their identity development.

The intensity and regularity of experiences perceived as positive or negative will tend to accelerate or retard identity development. The form that this takes will depend upon other factors such as psychological differences and the amount of personal and community support available to the individual.

One significant finding is that when Native stereotyping occurs, individuals lacking information to the contrary may accept the negative as applying to themselves. This experience seems to retard positive identity development. Some of these negative experiences encourage the individuals to question their own identities with respect to self as members of a minority group, and consequently to review their relationship with the majority. An aspect of this process is dissonance which seems to occur when the individual is trying to sort out where they fit in the world. "Native" and "White" worlds are perceived as being separate and incompatible. A state of feeling emotionally unbalanced may precede or even be a facilitating factor in bringing about necessary change. Both geographical and social mobility seem to underlie or facilitate identity development. Stagnant existence impedes positive identity development. It seems that, given appropriate conditions, the development of an integrated identity invariably occurs. The content of this integration seems to be the point at which the individual is exposed to new information which brings together the majority and minority cultures in positive ways, which the individual is able to apply to his own life.

Implications for Counselling

The findings of this research suggest that there are a number of factors counsellors need to consider when counselling a minority person. There is a tendency for some counsellors to use native stereotypes as a framework for providing counselling to minorities. This study suggests the nature of cultural values systems mediates identity development. Therefore it is necessary for counsellors to examine their own value and belief systems in relation to the value and belief systems of Native or other minorities. This sensitivity to client needs and background is likely to eliminate some of the negative feelings clients may have towards counsellors from the majority culture. Some studies have revealed that minority groups tend to resist counselling services provided by

counsellors from the majority culture (Annis, & Corenblum, 1986; Corenblum, & Wilson, 1982; Morten & Atkinson, 1983).

Another finding is the role of negative experiences in identity development. Counsellors can explore these negative experiences and expose clients to the meanings and significance of these experiences. An aspect, of this, is effort of the counsellor to increase the level of awareness of clients concerning the content of their experiences that affect their identity development. It will be beneficial to explore alternatives that may include both positive and negative aspects of one's culture as well as other cultures. To appreciate positive values irrespective of the culture from which they emanate. Another insight obtained from the present study is the importance of community support in helping individuals to overcome identity crisis or traumatic experiences. Counsellors may draw upon this resource by directing clients to appropriate support groups, such as native developed programs, cultural awareness workshops, native counsellors and native community helpers. More important is the need to develop internal resources that include coping or adjustment strategies in times of crisis. Individuals need to develop a sense of self control and determination. That is the ability to regulate one's behavior and to make choices and set realistic goals for one-self.

Implications for Education

In terms of education it would seem possible to develop school and community programs or workshops which could address and/or accelerate the awareness needed for native identity development. Keeping in mind the instructors need for awareness, as outlined in reference to counselling, the program could be designed to explore values and attitudes of the native person in relation to self, minority group and majority group. The goals of exploration would be increased self-awareness and appreciation, as well as advanced appreciation of minority and majority differences. Increased information will

allow the individual to make educated choices regarding evaluation of values and attitudes which may be beneficial to one's self irrespective of origin.

It is hoped the outcome of this research has shed new light on progressive changes and adaptations some Native people have been making. As well it may provide some direction for mental health services and further research in the area. I know I have gained some personal insights, and grown personally in carrying out this research. I only hope this will help in being more effective in the counselling field. I also hope some of these insights have been presented adequately to be of use to others. I would like to thank again all the people who shared in this endeavor.

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APPENDIX A

Table 1

Thematic Abstractions of CQ1's Experience

Meaning Units from Transcribed Interview	Two Levels of Abstraction	
	Paraphrases	Themes
C01		
1. I just finished 2 years at the university of A	Appreciates value of education	Cultural Integration Ad (Abbreviation for Adult)
2. My mother knows how to speak Cree, every summer we'd go to Sask. and see my grandparents and relatives. Everybody spoke Cree.	Pride in ethnicity	Native Identification Ch-(Abbr. for Child)
3. Neat. Just to enjoy my cousins and the freedom they had.	Closeness, identification with relations	Native Identification Ch-
4. They were much more responsible as opposed the kids I grew up with in Vancouver.	Feels more akin to reserve life than to city life	Native Identification Ch
5. In Vancouver you get into a skirmish all of a sudden they'd tag you (swings his hand in the air) "Indian". Or something like that.	Is subject to racism in the city	Exposure to Racism Ch.
6. I felt really bad, I never felt too proud about it and that. I was about eleven or something. I was pretty popular I was talking to this one kid. He was mean and grouchy. Any way he came up to me and said "you're an Indian aren't ya?" And I said "Yeah". And he said you're going to be drunk down on skid row when you grow up." (laughs) I didn't quite understand what he meant by that. I said "baloney" and I walked away from him. didn't feel too good after that.	Early exposure to racism is not quite understood except in that it was meant to make him feel bad, which it did.	Exposure to Racism Ch Cultural Diffusion Ch
7. When people call you Native, derogatory terms you feel like you just want to clam up	Negative emotional response to term Indian	Exposure to Racism Ch
8. When you are a kid you don't really notice the difference between races	Ethnic awareness low as a child	Cultural Diffusion Ch

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|---|---|---|
| <p>9. Went [to school] with my cousins and I just sort of enjoyed school there. And one day I got into this fight with this one kid, And I beat him up. Turns out he was the bully. Everybody started hanging a round with me. All these white kids I brought my new friends to see all my cousins, they looked at me and said "You're an Indian?" I said "Yeah". Then all of a sudden they didn't hang around with me. I just hung around my cousins. I had just as much fun.</p> | <p>Accepted in a new school by the white boys he is surprized when he is again rejected because he is an "Indian".
He receives solace in the company of his relatives</p> | <p>Exposure to Racism
Ch

Group cohesion
Extended Family
Ch</p> |
| <p>10. At that time I started getting these feelings. I wasn't exactly white and I wasn't exactly Indian. I was kind of caught in between,</p> | <p>Undesired affiliation with Natives</p> | <p>Cultural Confusion
Ch</p> |
| <p>11. now I think I get positive experiences from both sides.</p> | <p>Now is able to incorporate valuable aspects both cultures</p> | <p>Cultural Integration
Ad-</p> |
| <p>12. I go the reserve I'm Indian, I'm no longer the mooniaw, which everybody called me,</p> | <p>Feels more secure in his acceptance on reserve</p> | <p>Native Identification
Ad-</p> |
| <p>13. Vancouver we lived in one of the drag areas of town, and I guess I got a lot of negative feeling from the surrounding area a lot of Natives were down on their luck and drinking.</p> | <p>Begins to associate the lived hopelessness of Vancouver streets with being "Indian"</p> | <p>Anomie
Ch</p> |
| <p>14. There was this one painter, He committed suicide, he was 22, and he used to baby-sit us all the time. And it was kind of sad, because you thought "Wow, he's going to be one of the greatest painter" when you're a little kid and see him.</p> | <p>Sees valued "Indians" die at a young age, its a incomprehensible loss</p> | <p>Death
Cultural Diffusion
Ch</p> |
| <p>15. There was this other sort of wood carver. He carved totem poles he had a problem with wine. One day they wheeled him out on a stretcher. So it was kind of sad that way.</p> | <p>Same as above</p> | <p>Death</p> |
| <p>16. Some of my friends they don't see any sort of positiveness, just like they can't fit in</p> | <p>See his friends struggling to find a place in society</p> | <p>Group Struggle
Cultural Confusion
Majority Alienation</p> |

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|--|---|---|
| 17. You get people who just don't have any thing positive to say. And it's really hard. you start thinking that way too. | Sees these people identifying with and acting on the negative | Majority Alienation
E Ad (Abbrev for Early adulthood) |
| 18. Its Native stereotypes, and you start living them cause you don't know what's not Native. | identification with stereotypes, as way of establishing your Nativeness | Stereotypic Identification
E Ad |
| 19. Visit my uncles and that. Cause you sit there and talk for hours. Nobody would lock their doors, everybody would visit each other, give food to each other. an extended family. Everybody's family was extended. | remembers the comfort and security of life on the reserve. | Native Identification
Ch |
| 20. Like my aunt on my mom's side, was like another mother. they treated me like their son. It was pretty good. | One feels like one has a secure, very big family | Native Identification
Ch |
| 21. My cousin, Daryl, we were the same age, we used to hang around together, riding through the forest, playing with a rope, and he hung himself in a tree. So that was kind of rough. | suffers a traumatic loss of a special friend during adolescence | Death
Adol (Abbrev. for Adolescence) |
| 22. Everybody going together. When there's problems, pain | there is banding together for emotional support in times loss or crisis | Group Cohesion
Ch |
| 23: My family, they'd all move to Saskatoon and they'd all live in the same housing project, They were always in walking distance from each other. | People move together to maintain family ties and support | Group Cohesion
Ch |
| 24. My uncle he's an elder, a medicine man. He knows quite a lot about the Native tradition. we've got quite a rich background. | Pride in traditions maintained by family member | Native Identification
E Ad |
| 25. He's [uncle] working, doing counselling services with inmates they do lots of sweats and that. | Tradition and majority come together to help the people | Cultural Integration
E Ad |
| 26. My grandmother she doesn't know how to speak English. I'd like to learn how to speak Cree I already took one year of Cree. | Pride in the pure maintenance of heritage, and a attempt to gain access | Native Identification
E Ad
Cultural Restoration
E Ad |

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| 27. My mom didn't really have a very good life. She grew up in a residential school, and she had quite a rough life. A lot of drinking we have like six different fathers. | A mature understanding of experiences which contributed to mother's life | Residential School
E Ad |
| 28. She was very strong woman. to survive | Appreciation of her ability to survive | Group Cohesion
E Ad |
| 29. She [mother] talks about Native traditions,. Some of the words I go help, like tutored from her. | Pride in mother's return to tradition | Cultural Restoration
E Ad |
| 30. It used to confuse me when I was younger [mom said] There's no word in English. | Language confusion as a child | Cultural Diffusion
Ch |
| 31. You know but discovering all that knew stuff was really good. As opposed to growing up with no contact with your relatives. | Pride and excitement in discovering the uniqueness of his heritage | Native Identification
Ch |
| 32. Media seems to report all the negative things. Tend to stigmatize negative aspects. | Questions the validity of the messages regarding Natives portrayed through media | Majority Alienation
Ad |
| 33. I can imagine how rough would have been if I didn't contact, with my relatives | Appreciates the value of his relationship with extended family | Group Cohesion
Ad |
| 34. It didn't really come on me all of a sudden, It was like this negative world and this positive world(physically indicates a separateness). They didn't seem to mesh | Expresses the confusion and difficulty in trying to find a relationship between the Native world and White World | Cultural Confusion
Adol

Group Alienation |
| 35. I felt really embarrassed to be an in Indian, Vancouver. It was rough | Feels devalued in majority environment | Majority Alienation
Ch |
| 36. It made you withdraw when people looked at you. I wasn't sure what they were thinking. | Feeling belly suspicion and need to protect self | Majority Alienation
Ch |
| 37. I didn't think past high school. I didn't even know if I was going to graduate or not. I didn't think past, you know " Indians don't go to college." " Indians don't go to university." | Limits aspirations because of accepted internalized stereotypes which say he cannot succeed | Stereotypic Identification
Adol |
| 38. I had friends who were Portuguese and Italian. When I was with those groups I sort of | Affiliates with other groups to escape identification as a | Minority Affiliation
Adol |

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| took on their characteristics:
you know just to be part of the
group. | Indian as well as gain
emotional support and
acceptance | |
|---|---|--|
39. They started wondering about me.
Are you Portuguese or Italian?
I told them I was Indian. That just
shocked them they couldn't believe
it. But this one friend who I
thought was a really good friend,
after he discover I was Indian, he
referred to me as "Indian" He
made it sound really derogatory
I guess we weren't friends
But my Portuguese friends they
didn't care
- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| Allowing himself to be
identified as a Indian again
lead to rejection | Exposure to Racism
Adol |
| Learns that not all groups
will reject him | Minority Affiliation
Adol |
40. I went to 7 different elementary
schools
- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Implied family instability | Family Instability
Ch- |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
41. just to go with these groups and
not have to worry about it, being
having people look at you strange.
its sort of cognitive dissonance.
just like you know, one of the guys.
I could talk out, speak up.
- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| feels a separation within
himself, in being accepted
but not being really sure
if that acceptance is
for himself as person | Minority Affiliation
Adol |
|--|------------------------------|
42. Times I , when I was with like the
Italian groups, they were really
derogatory to other groups and I
would just stand there and laugh
at their jokes at other groups,
there was one family, they were
a Native family, they would
be the brunt of the joke. I'd be
sitting there in background
laughing too. I didn't feel too good
after that. Like if I didn't feel Native
- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| Participates in racism
other Native people in order
to protect himself, but
with conflicting feelings | Minority Affiliation
Adol |
| | Cultural Confusion
Adol |
43. All my friends seemed to be
minorities. (laughs)
So my friends were East Indian,
they were planning to go Langara
College, it was like I really didn't
want to go, it was like I was pushed
there almost. I even studied less,
With weekends it was like I was
working 24 hours a day. So I was
burnt out. My marks were really
horrible
- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| In late adolescence he
remains affiliated with
minority groups, and
follows them to college to
maintain that security
rather than to pursue his
goals He begins to tail
spin as he pushes himself
but does not deal with
internal issues— | Minority Affiliation
Adol |
| | Identity Crisis
Adol |
44. [Then] I went to this bible college
thinking "Hey, this is going to
be great." Cause I just became a

- | | | |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| <p>Christian. This will be great Christians just view people as people. They don't worry about race or anything. it seemed really hypocritical you could almost pick out which cliques are going to get together I thought they'd be separated from that, but I guess not.</p> | <p>He again seeks to escape to a Christian environment where he thinks he will be free of racial discrimination and he is disappointed</p> | <p>Majority Alienation
Adol</p> |
| <p>45. I didn't feel to comfortable with that. I ended up spending more of my time the outcast group.</p> | <p>He again affiliated with another minority group of undesirables</p> | <p>Minority Affiliation
Adol</p> |
| <p>46. I got really depressed, really horribly depressed. Totally sick of that whole shoot and cabable. I failed everything. I ended up in a hospital, for like 2 months.</p> | <p>Inability to escape reaches a crisis point at which he breaks</p> | <p>identity Crisis
Adol</p> |
| <p>47. I was in the psych ward and I was treating everybody else. (laughs) And it was really good, cause I was living through everybody else problems. All the taboo topics were out, you talk to anybody about anything. I just found I got more help [from the patients]</p> | <p>Now he finds the environment he was seeking, a place where he is accepted for what is, where he is able to talk openly about all his feeling without feel of rejection</p> | <p>Healing/Life Change
Adol</p> |
| <p>48. It was really enlightening. My eyes were just opened. I could see things for what they were.</p> | <p>He feels his world opening</p> | <p>Healing/Life Change
E Ad</p> |
| <p>49. I got really down, and started thinking those mind games when you're caught in trap thinking like you know, it doesn't matter. Started to think if I just died, there' be funeral and things would just go on as they would. But if I did a mark in life, I started thinking violently at first. Id make them know that I was here. I'd really screw things up good. Then I started thinking more positive. If I could do something really negative, then I could probably go the other extreme</p> | <p>With his new self of value he wants the world to know as well he is an individual worthy of recognition. Exploring his options he chooses a positive route to gain the recognition he now sees himself worthy of</p> | <p>Cfisis Conjuncture
E Ad</p> |
| <p>50. When I got out of there I was more able to cope in this negative world or what ever.</p> | <p>Feeling new value in himself he feel more equipped to deal with the external world</p> | <p>Healing/Life Change
E Ad</p> |

- | | | |
|---|--|------------------------------------|
| 51. I just opened up. And if I saw something I found very hypocritical, I didn't just sit there, and let them spit on me. | He now asserts his opinions, fearlessly, perhaps almost in challenge | Healing/Life Change
E Ad |
| 52. I thought I don't care about what I get. All of a sudden I started getting all these terrific marks. | He is surprised to find his self appreciation style is also appreciated but others | Healing/life Change
E Ad |
| 53. Its almost like you get that almost like charisma, you just don't care what people think about you, what happens you just want to get you feeling out. your don't want to worry about those social roles you were placed in, or that society puts you in. | He feels in control of his own destiny | Independent Identity
E Ad |
| 54. When you start questioning them, not worrying about people think about you its a lot better. You get more involved, I guess its self- determination. I guess it has to take place on a individual level, you have to have your own sort of drive. Allowing yourself to be, or, whatever I was about nineteen. | He feels he is allowing his internal inner strengths to to show, rather than that are new developments | Independent Identity
E Ad |
| 55. I met some really terrific people, they were really self aware. | In appreciating himself, he appreciates others | Healing/Life Change
Adol |
| 56. Some of those stereotypes, Like when you hear someone is Metis you automatically think " well, their father was a white woodsman who came and met an Indian woman" Then I met people who their father was Indian their mother was white.(laughs) And I say "whoa, major problem here" (laughs) | He becomes more self awareof ideas previously blindlyaccepted, and is consciousof their continued affect | Stereotypic Identification
E Ad |
| 57. All of a sudden you get these exception to the rule.,half-breeds you think. " Oh well they get their smarts from the white side of the family". Then it turns out their grandfather was Native and went to university. You start realizing you don't have to be white | As facts begin to challenge stereotypes, he gains a new respect for Native people outside of the community and starts to sense that the two cultures can come together | Cultural Integration
E Ad |
| 58. I guess I'd seen people , they were | | |

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| <p>so gifted and they'd end up dying. I couldn't understand that. When you realize these people were fairly quite and they used alcohol to get away from those feeling that hurt.</p> | <p>He gains a more mature perspective on the plights of people, he has known and his own relationship to them</p> | <p>Group Struggle
E Ad</p> |
| <p>59. I see people more as people.</p> | <p>He now sees beyond racial barriers, to the individual</p> | <p>Independent Identity
E Ad</p> |
| <p>60. There's a lot of things Native culture has that can't be measured exactly. The spiritual its good even through its not scientific or not right.</p> | <p>He expresses confidence and pride in the his cultures traditions, standing behind them in the face of majority depreciation</p> | <p>Native Identification
E Ad</p> |
| <p>61. At the time I was going thru those experiences I thought it was just happening to me.</p> | <p>Recognizes his crisis as shared experience among other Native people</p> | <p>Group Struggle
E Ad</p> |
| <p>62. It seemed like all Natives drank. I decided when I was really young that I wasn't going to buy into that I made an oath to myself</p> | <p>Recognizes that acceptance of stereotypes influenced his behavior, a need to make his life different</p> | <p>Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic Images
Life Choice
Adol</p> |
| <p>63. 1978, I was with my best friend. Everyone says happy new year and they have this wine, they say take at least a sip. And I was really against it. I put it up to my lips and I put it back down, the next day they were all apologizing. (laughs)</p> | <p>Peer pressure does not cause him to waiver once he had made those choices.</p> | <p>Life Choice
Adol</p> |
| <p>64. I had like 9 brother and sisters and I watch them all going through the same phases, bad relationships, drinking, drugs. I learned what not to do.</p> | <p>Feels he was able to learn through mistakes of family members</p> | <p>Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic Images
Life Choice
Adol</p> |
| <p>65. They respect my position what I made in my mind other people just put words to it. "He doesn't want to drink".</p> | <p>He does not isolate himself from the family and they respect his decision</p> | <p>Life Choice
Adol</p> |
| <p>66. Indians are dirty and that and all they want is sex. I kept my virginity, until I pretty much got married. People are dumb-founded to begin with and somehow they rationalize it away.</p> | <p>Pride in some of decisions even challenge the norms of the majority</p> | <p>Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic Images
Life Choice
Adol</p> |
| <p>67. I'm making that as a choice, I guess maybe before it was</p> | <p>Recognizes he likely made those choices as challenge</p> | <p>Independent Identity</p> |

because I was Native.	to his Nativeness, but now values them, in themselves	E Ad
68. Somethings I didn't understand people would say "if you don't drink, you're not Native," I say "baloney, if you drink you're not Indian". People got their	Now challenges the with stereotypic images	Stereotypic Identification E Ad
69. I see these people using them saying "Well my house is dirty I'm Native". Baloney, I've seen Natives with clean houses,	Now challenges the with stereotypic images	Stereotypic Identification E Ad
70. Native people have to realize you can't just generalize about things like that.	Promotes growth and recognition among Native people of stereotypic identifications	Stereotypic Identification E Ad
71. I get depressed and I get the same problems as everyone else, but I deal with it in different ways.	Pride in skills developed to handle emotional issues which may arise	Independent Identity E Ad
72. In outside society, its like your are by yourself, you handle your own problems	Recognition of cross cultural differences	Cultural Separation E Ad
73. In the Native community you can have really positive or really negative, but then if something outside happens the families pull together.	Pride in the support Native people give one another in times of stress	Group Cohesion E Ad
74. The father would go out and hunt, set snares. there was no, "I'm the boss sort of thing" "its like we're a family".	Pride in the social of the Native community	Native Identification E Ad
75. They have to go back to what is truly Native. You have to go back there and do I guess some personal inventory, just look at your relatives or take a course in Native Studies, or get a book	Feels that through cultural restoration, Native people can regain pride and change the present situation	Cultural Restoration E Ad
76. In elementary and in high school "Columbus discovered America." people say there were Indians there of course. (laughs) And you don't want to say anything.	Recognizes the institutional structures as being a source of the problem of his own self esteem.	Majority Alienation E Ad

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| 77. Its really how history gets Westernized. You look at the Native on T.V., they are never winners | Recognizes the institutional structures as being a source of the problem of his own self esteem | Majority Alienation
E Ad |
| 79. Within the next 10 years somethings going to come up. | Sees hope of change in next few years | Hope
E Ad |
| 80. It seems like nowadays you get these Native men saying "Ok now, we're going to be the leaders, we're going to take over.the only difference between them and white is their color, its embarrassing.(laughs) | Expresses a disdain of Native political copying majority structure | Disillusionment with Native Community
E AD |
| 81. My uncles were always more traditional than academic.a solid line between traditional and academic. | Recognizes that his views regarding the split between cultures come from Native community as well | Cultural Separation
E Ad |
| 82. I always saw them as separate, they only became integrated when I saw Natives in higher positions. Like Native professors, Its Ok to believe in Native spirituality and have Phd | Appreciates modeling of integrated life-styles makingmaking them seem more real | Cultural Integration
E Ad |
| 83. Before when I was with Natives I could relax and be myself. And with the non-Native its like you have to follow them, follow their actions, dress the way they dress, talk the way they talk, | Recognizes group security and majority alienation | Cultural Separation
Adot |
| 84. I guess you have to play by their rules until you become big enough to be yourself. | Recognizes the experience part of a growing process | Independent Identity
E Ad |
| 85. I'm able to break free of the stereotypes. But sometimes I find myself still thinking about them. | Conscious awareness of influence of past beliefs | Independent Identity
Stereotypic Identification
Ad |
| 86. In the university is like the government, the way they treat Natives, like they're not there | Criticism of present majority attitudes | Majority Alienation
E Ad |
| 87. But its a good thing to see it go the other way for change.,like in the North West Territories, and the Lubican, that's really good. | Appreciation of group determination | Group Assertion
E Ad |

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| 88. Before it was like I had two separate lives. But now its better, I can integrate part of my Native into my non-Native and my non-Native into my Native. | Appreciates his own growth | Cultural Integration
Independent Identity
E Ad |
| 89. values, spirituality, Native spirituality. I guess not having to put a label to things, just accepting them for what they are. | Appreciates his ability to establish his belief system | Native Identity
E Ad |
| 90. Just be able to relate as a Native, I married my wife, she's Irish, not Native, and my band had accepted her and she's on the band list. But the government doesn't recognize that, even though the Natives do. | Recognition of cross cultural growth and need for such in majority institutions | Cultural Integration
E Ad |
| 91. Say you study Zoology, all you can do is watch the animals, as opposed to studying Natives, you can talk to the people. Which is a new concept it seems (laughs). | Questions majority alienation of group | Majority Alienation
E AD |
| 92. My wife has been quite a positive influence. What I'm learning about Natives she's learning about women. She calls me a feminist too, what other people see as feminism I just see as common sense. | Self appreciation in face of external criticism | Cultural Integration
Independent Identity
E Ad |
| 93. In the non-Native culture every day is distinct there will never be another today. But in the Native everything is cyclical. | Appreciation of Native values | Native Identification
E Ad |
| 94. The elderly are still the top. They are still pretty powerful. Treatment of Kids; Everyone's related, all kids are treated equal | Appreciation of Native values | Native Identification
E Ad |
| 95. Not getting caught up in the stereotypes ,being able to see, meet, and talking to people who live integrated lifestyles. Knowing anything is possible. | Promotion of integrated lifestyles as way to self appreciation | Cultural Integration
Independent Identity
E Ad |
| 96. I wanted to be a policeman or a pilot [If I was meant to be a policeman] If it was meant to be, it would have been, so maybe there's something planned for my life. | Self determination | Cultural Integration
Independent Identity
Spirituality
E Ad |

APPENDIX A

Table 2

Thematic Abstractions of CO2's Experience

Meaning Units from Transcribed Interview	Two Levels of Abstraction	
	Paraphrases	Themes
CO2		
1. The very first conscious memory of me being Native. I was about in kindergarten or grade 1, there were only two white boys, they used to get teased a lot on the bus. One time I got on the bus and there was no place to sit except with one of these white kids and I was so horrified I just cried.	Awareness of ethnic position in-group	Exposure to racism ch
2. The second memory I had was boy, I maneuvered myself to stand beside this boy, he looked at me and moved over went and stood someplace else. I was of course very embarrassed. (laughs) think I blamed that rejection on me being Native.	Experiences racism feels embarrassed and rejected	Exposure to racism ch
3. In our family there wasn't much talk about being Indian or any pride of our heritage, we just sort of lived our lives, probably because my mother is white and my father is Indian	Nativeness ignored because of mixed family	Nativeness ignored ch
4. I was raised with no conscience talk about the difference of being white or Indian.	Ethnicity ignored in home	Nativeness ignored ch
5. When I was younger, I just never thought about it, except for what upset me. I never thought about	Ethnicity unimportant	Cultural Diffusion ch-
6. I can remember this one time we were watching a show about cowboys and Indians and of course the Indians were getting beat and my father said "Who are you cheering for?" and of course I was cheering for the cowboys, he was just kind of laughing and asking	Group identification by father leaves child feeling confused and embarrassed	Cultural Confusion ch

WHY? I felt like I had betrayed something. It almost felt like those are my uncles out there, my whole family I was cheering against, I felt sort of embarrassed or guilty

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| 7. I have a mixed heritage, so I think I have a more balanced view than some about the differences between white and Indian. Because of my mother | Appreciation of life
life -experiences | Cultural Separation
Ad |
| 8. you just can't be prejudice when you have a white mother (laugh) | Mixed heritage controls
behavior | Cultural Confusion
Ch |
| 9. I am sort of suspicious, my mother never really had any contact with Native people. My mother's family were really against my mother getting married to my dad. Like they tried to bribe her with a trip, | Within family racism | Exposure to racism
Ch |
| 10. My grandmother all she knew about Indians were that the women made baskets and the men beat their women. | Within family prejudice | Exposure to racism
Ch |
| 11. My older sisters noticed we really quite measured up like to the white grandchildren. I didn't really know what exactly what she meant cause I was too young. | Within family racism | Exposure to racism
Ch
Cultural Diffusion
Ch |
| 12. I think she [mother] never really seen us (children) as good either, | Implied inferiority | Low Self Esteem
Ch |
| 13. But I think that's how my mother was. My older brother he doesn't really look like an Indian and I always saw him as being favored and not me. | Implied inferiority | Low Self Esteem
Ch |
| 14. I can always remember her saying "don't be stupid" a lot. Of I'd try ask her about an emotional thing and it was a problem she was trying to avoid and she would say "don't be stupid" | Implied inferiority
emotional neglect | Low Self Esteem
Ch |
| 15. I think part of my self esteem is part of an unconscious | Internalization of
inferiority | Low Self Esteem
Ch |

thing from her [mother]attitude.		
16. I don't have much faith in myself.	Low Self Esteem	Low Self Esteem Ad
17. If somebody comes up with an opinion she's there if it is ridiculous or very biased, to show there are other choices beliefs are not totally restricted.	Identification with parent attitude	Cultural Separation Ad
18. One thing was our family was isolated from the reserve because we didn't associate with anybody who drank so that cut out a lot of out relatives.	Within community isolation by choice	Group Alienation Ch
19. There are a lot of people who don't drink and put up with their family who drinks. That wasn't the case with us,	Dissociation with undesirables within family	Group Alienation Ch
20. When we were growing up it was always assumed that we would finish high school and then go on to college so you just never thought about not finishing, she [mother]cared that we finished.	Value of education promoted	Majority Identification Ch
21. My younger sister is blonde and she doesn't seem Indian to me, not all of her friends are Indian.	Escape of ethnic identification by sibling	Group Alienation Ch
22. Like all of my friends, a majority of them are Indian and my social life generally revolves	Operates with in group	Native Identification Ad
23. Second darkest out of all, us her social life has very little to do with Indians nothing except for our family (laughs).	Natives avoided by siblings	Majority Identification Ch
24. She dressed better and she was prettier, She dressed nice too dance and they were threatening to beat her up in the bathroom, so after that she never had to do anything with them, [Indians] she was scared.	Sibling ostrasized for failing to adhere to group norms	Group Alienation Ch
25. I was certainly was accepted, may have been to because I played sports and she didn't.	Group acceptance through socialization	Native Identification Adol

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| 26. I really don't have any idea how the others feel about being Indian. | Nativeness ignored in home | Nativeness Ignored Ad |
| 27. I was just shy, I was never one of the popular girls. I remember my cousin she included me in the popular group but I was just to shy to cope with all these popular girls and I just gradually started hanging around with my old friends. | Unable to cope with inclusion because of feelings of inferiority | Low Self Esteem Ch |
| 28. In school I never really had any contact with other Native kids because I was in higher divisions and with more intelligent kids, who had money, secure with themselves, and the Native girls were of course in lower divisions who had problems which indirectly affected me. | Dissociation from ethnic group, anger at inability to maintain anonymity | Majority Identification Adol |
| 29. One day we were all called in, some girls were being called squaws and of course getting into fights. It was just like calling somebody a niger. | Racism in school by peers | Exposure to racism Adol |
| 30. Basically the schools reaction was to tell us just ignore it, to put up with it and they didn't say anything to the white kids. So basically said you're not worth trying solve any problem I should of been really annoyed but it wasn't really happening to me directly til this day it's still annoying | Disregard or patronization by institution, feelings of insignificance. Attempts to dissociate are unsuccessful | Exposure to racism Adol |
| 31. I guess one thing that really annoys me about being Native is the stereotyping. In about grade 10 or 11 and they had this show about Indians drunk on the streets. This woman must of been about sixty years old walking down the street just drunk and this man about the same age as her comes along and lifts up her shirt and starts sucking on her breasts, I was just horrified. How could they show something so obscene. I was so embarrassed I didn't | Stereotypic images are painful because they are seen as a direct reflection of personal value
Emphasize need for dissociation | Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic images Adol |

want to go to school the next day.

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| 32. It really bothers me when I see people like that because those are the Native people they [white people] see like that. | Feels anomic behavior reflects on ethnicity | Hypersensitivity to stereotypic images
Ad |
| 33. I kind of got mad, Its like their behavior is reflecting on me. | Feels anomic behavior reflects on self | Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic images
Adol |
| 34. That show has kind of affected my behavior, I don't drink or I drink very rarely in front of white people. | Adjusts behavior to create image for majority | Hypersensitivity to stereotypic images
Ad |
| 35. I guess I am just leery about how people see Indians, I am paranoid | Sensitive to ethnic evaluation | Hypersensitivity to stereotypic images
d |
| 36. Even if they accept you it's because they think you are different .You are not like the drunken Indian stereotype. | Insignificance of personal worth | Majority Alienation
Ad |
| 37. Suspicious they don't see me as a regular person, so I am not friendly and they're not friendly | Separation from majority reflected in behavior | Majority Alienation
Ad |
| 38. I consciously try to be more friendly and it always works . | Adjustment of behavior to be accepted | Majority identification
Ad |
| 39. I could never let go of that feeling that people are judging me no matter how hard I try I am never a regular person. | Inability to get beyond feeling of being negatively evaluated by majority because of Nativeness | Majority Alienation
Ad |
| 40. In my own image I have a lot of confusion and I don't have a clear self image or a strong self esteem.it's hard for me to believe I will never be accepted as a regular person. | Inability to get beyond feelings of being negatively evaluated by majority because of Nativeness | Majority Alienation
Ad- |
| 41. It's hard for me to plan and make goals for myself because I always think I have a handicap and even if I do very well my efforts will not be recognized or people won't care(laugh). | Alienation makes future seem hopeless | Identity Crisis
Ad |
| 42. Like getting some training and not being able to get a job. I think its a confusing time for the Indians | Alienation makes future seem hopeless | Identity Crisis
Ad |

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| 43. I went back to college for two years and [am]very undecided about my educational goals | Direction unclear | Identity Crisis
Ad |
| 44. They [Natives]talk so much at their culture much of it is lost and they can't get it back, it's impossible | Sees culture as inaccessible | Disillusionment with Native culture
Ad |
| 45. I feel disrespectful a lot because I can see inconsistencies in their [Indian] behavior, some of their attitudes are not very traditional. It's like a mesh of white and Indian | Cultural confusion | Disillusionment with Native community
Ad |
| 46. I don't really know what I believe. I feel just skeptical of a lot of the stuff | Confusion on what is true | Cultural Confusion
Ad |
| 47. I don't really feel I have a place to go and learn. | Expresses need to have cultural knowledge base | Lacks resources
Ad- |
| 48. It's really hard let go because I was raised as Catholic, I still sort of hang on to it. | Religious identification | Majority identification
Ch |
| 49. I see a lot of potential for good in Native spirituality I don't feel I've learned enough to be true and also I think a lot of it isn't true | Skepticism regarding Native spirituality | Cultural Confusion
Ad |
| 50. Elders should be respected. but I think there is too much dependancy A lot of the culture has been lost so they don't know everything. | Sees Native culture as lost | Disillusionment with Native community
Ad |
| 51. I haven't had too many elders or an extended family. I never really had grandparents so I don't really know how to relate to old people I feel shut out from Elders, I don't feel comfortable around them. | Feeling unable to access Native resources | Group Alienation
Ad |
| 52. As far as spirituality is concerned I can see that Indians have done a lot of things better. | Pride in understanding Native spirituality | Native Identification
Ad |
| 53. If you look at the environment and white religion, in the white world man puts himself on top and everything is supposed to serve . | Separation of values | Cultural Separation
Ad |

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| 54. In the white world everything is for profit So that is why the world is a mess | Separation of values | Cultural Separation
Ad |
| 55. Indians are opposite they're on the bottom. Everything (in the environment) is having more respect. I can feel some pride in what I am even though I'm not really from that, | Pride in Native values
Group Association | Native Identification
Ad |
| 56. White people they have a lot of societal expectations, like money and a lot of rules "it's rude to ask how much money they make". It's almost like it's a real big thing for them(laugh) | Separation of values | Cultural Separation
Ad |
| 57. It almost feels like you lived in two different worlds and there are different rules and a different structure. | Separation of worlds | Cultural Separation
Ad |
| 58 I call non reserve land the regular world(laugh) and home ,the reserve. | Separation of worlds
Affiliation with community | Cultural Separation
Ad |
| 59. I feel safe on the reserve .but I also feel like it's sort of entrapping just because the way things are set up and for the [band] politicians it's easier to be more domineering. | Safety of reserve is marred by poor band politics | Disillusionment with
Native community
Ad |
| 60. Regular politicians they have less control, they can be voted in and out there. | Sees and appreciates majority differences. | Majority Identification
Ad |
| 61. Sometimes when I'm here, I drag myself down.
I mostly hang around with Indians and my conversation becomes limited and my grammar deteriorates | Sees restricting herself to Native community as having delimiting effects on her personal development | Disillusionment with
Native community
Ad |
| 62. It like its 2 different worlds, in college, people are educated and you have to speak that way. | World separation is reflected in language use | Majority Identification
Ad |
| 63 Out here and these people are high school dropouts and they really don't know what you're saying or they think your acting | Native people being less educated resent language they don't understand | Majority Identification
Ad |

- good or uppity.(laugh)
64. It's only been in the past few years this [Nativeness] has become a preoccupation to me. That I am trying to sort how exactly do I feel because I know there's problems with my self esteem and my identity.
- Only recently has she addressed the relationship between Nativeness, self-esteem and identity
- Cultural Confusion
Identity Crisis
Ad
65. Just since I started college, I was about twenty-nine. I felt tense when ever they wanted to talk about Natives, afraid they were going to pick me out as the expert and I really didn't have much of an opinion
- Fear of ethnic identification as expert
Fear ignorance of Native heritage will be exposed
- Lack Resources
Ad
66. I was always aware I didn't know much about my culture
- Cultural ignorance
- Lack resources
Ad
67. With my children I really don't have any culture to teach them.
- Cultural ignorance affects ability to make children aware
- Lack resources
Ad
- 68 I don't really think their life is much different from what I had. I think they are more aware of being Indian. But I think they see themselves as regular people.
- Children aware of ethnicity, but it is not important to them now
- Cultural Integration
Ad
69. I talk to them about being Indian Like I try to play music, taking them to pow-wow's, they're just not interested. I think they feel more secure themselves,
- Attempts to instill ethnic pride and awareness
- Native Identification
Ad
70. I am more conscious of making connections for them at school, for the two of them to be more successful
- Works to ensure education is a successful experience
- Cultural Integration
Ad
71. They talk about going to college They are more aware, I was.
- Children appreciate value of education
- Cultural Integration
Ad
72. They have more of an extended family through their aunts and uncles.
- Children have more involvement with extended family
- Extended family
Ad
- 73 None of our family is a bunch of partiers or drunks. They just have a better self esteem I guess that's what's different.
- Family is free of stereotypic image, children benefit
- Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic Image
Ad
- 74 I don't have any worries about

the youngest, cause he doesn't really look Indian, because I know he will go through high school and not have a problem like I did.

Sees one son as being able to escape ethnic identification

Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic image
Ad

75. I worry about the oldest being discriminated against. Fears, the same fears I feel about peoples attitudes towards Indians.

Concern regarding other son being affected by ethnic identification

Low Self Esteem
Ad

- 76 I recognize it and I try to prevent that sort of behavior. I used to favor the youngest son, I wasn't sure it was because he was the baby or acted like a baby Or if I tend to because he is more white, it's an ugly thing.

Recognizes own behavior as possibly reflecting those prejudices

Low Self Esteem
Ad

77. I think I do that to my kids, I changed, I hope.

Uncertainty of self change

Low Self Esteem
Ad

78. Once in awhile I'll see myself almost over favoring the oldest, while I'm trying not to favour the youngest.

Overcompensation for own feeling of inferiority

Low Self Esteem
Ad

79. That very problem is just a reflection of how I see. "Indians don't quite make it."

Self discrimination

Low Self Esteem
Ad

80. Re: So for yourself you're always "the Indian first" and it doesn't matter what else you've been?
C6: Yeah. (pause)

Ethnic identification supersedes individual progress

Low Self Esteem
Ad

- 81 I see white people as more ambitious and more materially driven, more power driven, they want to be successful, not just for money but for status, esteem.

Identifies differences in majority cultural orientation.

Cultural Separation
Ad

82. Indians, they would rather enjoy doing things, rather than accumulate things.

Positive identification of Native attitude

Native Identification
Ad

83. Of course you see people who want that status, but it's just not as pronounced in the Native culture

Minimizes exhibitions similar behavior between cultures

Native Identification
Ad

84. There is a big difference in the money thing, I saw a (non-Native) girl walk with just a shirt in -20

Identification of attitude differences, pride in

Native Identification
Ad

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| weather, she wouldn't take a dime off me, that I was ready to give her. | own attitude | |
| 85. One woman remembering that I loaned her thirty five cents a few months earlier, that I had totally forgot about | Identification of attitude difference, pride in own attitude | Native Identification Ad |
| 86. When I hang out with my Native friends, who ever has the money pays, everybody has their own money and if somebody is short you don't have to worry. | In group understanding and security | Native Identification Ad |
| 87. I see Indian people are more relaxed as far as the law is concerned, getting into fights and like Indians are less willing to go to court and to press charges. White people they'll sure take you to court. | Appreciation of group attitude | Native Identification Ad |
| 88. Like my older son, his father is Native and I have never had to take him to court over money, he gives me money when he has it and when he doesn't, I don't worry about it. | Adherence and appreciation of group attitude | Native Identification Ad |
| 89. The other one he's gone to court to give me more money | Ridicule of majority attitude | Native Identification Ad |
| 90. Not to hurt anybody and I try not to lie (laugh) | Values directing behavior | Personal Value Ad |

APPENDIX A

Table 3

Thematic Abstractions of CO3's Experience

Meaning Units from Transcribed Interview	Two Levels of Abstraction	
	Paraphrases	Themes
CO3		
1. I was born in 1952 and I do not ever remember that my father did not take us to a pow-wow. He used to tell us as children it is our duty from all the nations in Canada to keep it going until they're ready to come back	Family and tribal pride	Native Identification Ch
2. I enjoyed my childhood, I had in my home traditional and Christian and the preparation my parents gave me to leave the reserve and go to school but yet gave me the strong basis of understanding of who we are as Native people that's what gave me the importance of who we were before we left.	Unquestioning acceptance self, ethnicity and majority as modeled by parents	Cultural Integration Ch
3. I guess I was very lucky to have the best of both worlds, and not conflicting parents.	Appreciates the integrated view of parents and the opportunities it provided	Cultural Integration Ch
4. He wanted us to leave home and go to school. And hopefully to gain a occupation where we would be self sufficient off the reserve.	Father impressed the values of the majority	Cultural Integration Ch
5. My father would say it is beautiful to be Native and yet I don't want you to be a menace to society.	Parent models importance of pride in heritage	Native Identification Ch
6. I don't know, if my mother didn't didn't stay home and teach us, and my father didn't teach us to work four jobs, I don't know where I'd be today.	Modeling by parents gave roots to values	Family Pride Ch
7. I feel sorry for people who don't come from big families, it must be hard when you don't have that many to be with, to	Pride in those experiences	Family Pride

share with, to love.

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| 8. I see as a mother of a teenage daughter that I'm ready to help her because of the way my mother and father helped me. They were my role models. | See life experiences as important contributing factors in ability to raise own children | Independent Identity
Ad |
| 9. In adolescent years, when there was so much negativity about Native people, I think it was a basic understanding in the sixties to deny your heritage | Sees the environment of adolescence as promoting as sense of shame in heritage | Cultural Confusion
Adol |
| 10. the government allowed us to go to public school in 1966. Therefore we thought we were better than the reserve Indians that stayed home. it was better if you didn't identify yourself as an Indian Once you got to the city your tried not to be with the Indian people | Knew freedoms were taken as acceptance in majority on the contingent one rejected their heritage | Majority Identification
Majority Control
Adol |
| 11. It was easy for us as children to mix to, because we weren't as dark as the other children. | Physical features often affected ability to be identified majority | Majority Identification
Adol |
| 12. it was just everybody, everybody was not being Indian, I think the contributing factor was HATE basically it and being a teenager you have different feelings as being a teenager. | Sees hatred between cultures as reason one wanted to escape ethnic identification | Majority Alienation
Adol |
| 13. I think my twelve years old was ashamed to be an Indian, so she tries to stay away from things I tried to stay away from
14. I see my daughter not wanting to dance pow-wow more at 17. | Recognizes child need to escape | Majority Identification
Child |
| 15. in the seventies, being Indian started to be in. I wanted to be Indian by the time I was 18/19. But by then I realized I had already gone a little too far | When the environment made it easier to be an Indian, she wished to be identified as a Native person, her previous rejection was not taken lightly | Native Identification
Adol |
| 16. My father said as long as you have red skin you'll never be anything but a Native so you might as well be proud of it. | Parent reinforces the need to be proud of who and what you are | Native Identification
Ad |

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| 17. If we keep reinforcing the beauty of being Native, allow them to go through that period they'll grow up loving themselves, and knowing who they are. | Recognition that dealing with one's Nativeness is apart of young peoples development and that parents' role is to provide security in time of growth | Group Struggle
Ad |
| 18. Identity crisis, I think I went through at 17, or maybe even 23 when I thought I was having a rough time inside of myself, | Recalls own struggle with establishing identity and the aloneness of that struggle | Identity Crisis
Adol + E Ad |
| 19. I am from Fort Queppele Sask. It's a small Souixé Reservation of Dakota people
I was raised of a family of 13, I fall exactly the centre I am 39 yrs and I am now married into the Cree Tribe I have 3 natural children and 1 step-daughter and also a grandmother | Expression of pride in ethnicity and extended family | Native Identification
Ad |
| 20. I do not speak the language here but spiritually in any tradition we can just participate that way that makes us feel a sense of belonging | Tribal integration is another step in her own growth | Spirituality
Ad |
| 21. I have here the strength is through the Indian ways the spiritual ways of our people. | Spirituality is an important grounding force in strength | Spirituality
Ad |
| 22. I was once told by an elderly lady of my tribe that I am very I to have married into another tribe, she said, than you become twice as knowledgeable as of you were married in our tribe so your very gifted by the great spirits who directed to be married into another tribe. | Accepts spiritual guidance through traditional avenues | Native Identification
Spirituality
Ad |
| 23. I would like to speak there language so I could relate more information from the elders to my son and that he would be able to learn the language to. | Tribal integration important for development of knowledge in her son | Native Identification
Ad
Child |
| 24. The girls are not interested so I am not forcing them | Appreciation of girls own path | Majority Identification
Ad -Child |
| 25. Being Native is very important. | Personal value | Native Identification |

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| <p>26. I started to work for the gov'n't for so long and I started to live a very scheduled life. I was going to less and less Native things. One day I woke and said I like working I like being self-sufficient but also I like being Native.</p> | <p>Recognition of unconscious shift to majority values system to the exclusion of group which she decides is not how wants to live her life</p> | <p>Majority Identification
E Ad</p> |
| <p>27. I started to become alienated from my relatives. When I went home they all walked away from me, I wasn't part of them anymore. I felt very hurt,</p> | <p>Perceived to be an outsider she feels the pain of exclusion from her people</p> | <p>Group Alienation
E Ad</p> |
| <p>28. I had to work my way back into the Native world. Took a bit of a struggle there, because I had never visited my people for a long time. And it was a little longer before they accepted me back. I took me about 6-8 months of hard work, of wanting to be accepted again. Eventually it came to a point I was accepted. I vowed I'd never do that again,</p> | <p>She does not give up and begins the process of re-establishing her self in the community [she needs to establish that she is still trustworthy]</p> | <p>Group Alienation
E Ad</p> |
| <p>29. How I knew I got accepted, was I could confidently go to someone's house without making an appointment.</p> | <p>Knows she is accepted when she is not expected to act or be treated as an outsider</p> | <p>Group Cohesion
E Ad</p> |
| <p>30. I really, think it was my own fault for getting caught up in the working world.</p> | <p>Assumes blame for group response to her behavior</p> | <p>Group Alienation
E Ad</p> |
| <p>31. That's OK, every experience is a growing experience, for me its a positive thing. I learn from that. And I can teach my children</p> | <p>Feels that was part of her lessons meant to help her in the rearing of her children</p> | <p>Spiritual
Independent Identity</p> |
| <p>32. I don't know but I made it to the top of the government to at the same time so I kind of filled two goals at the same time.</p> | <p>Feels the experience allowed her self satisfaction in both worlds</p> | <p>Cultural Integration
Independent Identity
E Ad</p> |
| <p>33. I think being a woman and being Native has been pretty tough. I think a lot is expected of us from our community and our husbands to that kind of traditional wife to stay home and walk ten paces behind</p> | <p>Recognizes some of the communities maintained attitudes as delimiting in the development of Native women and men.</p> | <p>Group Struggle
Cultural Confusion
Ad</p> |

there are certain rules you always have to play on a reserve.

This struggle contributes to cultural confusion

34. When I go to the university I feel very comfortable, in the white world 'cause I can talk to anybody and I can feel that I'm not being untraditional if I talk to a man on campus

She herself find majority society, almost more comfortable in terms of her development

Cultural Integration
Ad

35. It's hard on our leadership because 99% of the people who are going to school are woman

She recognizes the hardship on men as they get left behind in terms of education

Group Struggle
Ad

36. But traditionally if you look at us and this is what I preach we are educators of our tribes Indian woman were originally the educators so I said take us from our traditional environment and support us to go out and get a whitemans degree and allow us so we can better our teachings to our children so

She promotes integration traditional views with the actualities of present day, hoping to develop community support for the women who are seeking to advance through education

Cultural Integration
Ad

37. Well I lived both in a Native and non-Native for an equal amount of time. I feel comfortable on a reserve I never felt city I lived in was so racist

She feels racism makes the reserve a more comfortable live than the city

Native Identification
Ad

38. I loved myself as a Native person and I knew I could make my mark on the world, and those who were living on skid row drunk and drawing welfare were always getting burnt by discrimination and racism, I felt really bad for them.

Although she recognizes the difficulties of confused Native people, she does not take on those difficulties as reflection of herself, but is empathic to their plight

Independent Identity
Ad
Group Struggle
Ad

39. I tried to do my best helping out on boards and stuff like that in the city so they would have an easier time.

She within majority system to help change the exist- of those less fortunate

Work Natives
Cultural Integration
Ad

40. Living on the reserve I find this healthy for my children they have a sense of belonging and understanding and access to traditional things they couldn't

She find the reserve a place where her children can develop a solid sense of belonging and personal

Native Identification
Ad

possibly have in the city	development.	
41. I'd prefer to teach in an reserve school rather than in a town or city school	Work rather work with own people	Native Identification Group Cohesion Cultural Integration Ad
42. have a lot of contact with Native people,ceremonies ,I need those sort of things to continue going on that's my source of strength.	Continued contact with spirituality of community provides inner source of strength	Independent Identity Group Cohesion Spirituality Ad
43. personal crisis I went through several in my life,dealing with alcoholism indirectly that we all share as Native people so we can understand the struggle with alcoholism	Touched personally by the plights of Native people, she feels these broadened her working experience	Group Struggle Ad
44. I never look at them negatively. Everything that happens to you has a reason, the great spirit doesn't cause bad things to happen to you mankind of causes bad things to happen to one another	All experiences are lessons meant for you, part of your spiritual path, part of individual purpose, bad things are man made.	Independent Identity Spirituality Ad
45. Today I use those experiences and help out other people,	She uses her experiences this way	Group Struggle Ad
46. I know I can challenge anything and not be afraid of being defeated	Certainty in self-determination	Independent Identity Ad
47. Being Native gave me the courage to cope those hardships special gift what Native people have a will to go on	Being Native is a gift [from the creator] to help you will develop strength as an individual and people	Independent Identity Native Identification Ad
48. Native women we put up spiritual, physical, and mental abuse and we can still go to school, raise our children and become leaders in our community	Sees Native women as especially strong	Group Struggle Independent Identity Ad
49. I'm glad I am Native because I've had that a experience in my life	Nativeness has added to to the richenss of her life	Native Identification Independent Identity Ad
50. [If] I am granted old age Elder status, I feel that I'm seeing a change, the attitudes towards alcoholics among our people	Appreciates the changes native people are making now,and hopes she will live to see many more	Hope Ad

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| 51. See a lot hope because in my short 40 years of living I've seen changes on the reserve, it's been phenomenal | She appreciates the changes native people are making now | Hope |
| 52. We [siblings] could of all drank and killed ourselves but we all strived for a better life. | Circumstances were not that different for her family that they could not fallen, | Group Struggle
Independent Identity
Ad |
| 53. I am not afraid to ask questions in the Indian circle and of course I am going to school. | Confident in cross-settings | Cultural Integration
Independent Identity
Ad |
| 54. I was afraid the first year I went to university because many Native student go through an identity crisis | Was fearful of integration affecting sense of self | Cultural Separation
Identity Crisis |
| 55. I think as long as I have goals to work towards I will always feel good towards myself. | Confident in future | Independent Identity
Ad |
| 56. Today to help my children to understand they also have extended family, Like if anything ever happened to me, they already know which sister they want to go live with. | Realities of life and death and relationship to extended family are known to the children | Extended Family
Group Cohesion
AD |
| 57. European the white people were very destructive and if you don't care about your environment how can you care about your family. | Questions value system of majority | Cultural Separation
Ad |
| 58. The creator put us on this earth he gave us this earth | Promotes value of long term thinking and responsibilities | Spirituality
Ad |
| 59. I probably fit in both worlds but I still but I prefer my Native community I can identify | Knowing both worlds she prefers the Native community | Cultural Separation
Group Cohesion
Ad |
| 60. I don't understand how people can get caught up in materialistic matters I could survive without materialistic things | Questions value system of majority, separating from own value system | Cultural Separation
Ad |
| 61. 14 or 15 [someone said], was to respect yourself and love yourself no matter who you are and and know where your coming from and that love will reflect onto others | Personal value | Personal Value |

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| 62. Sundancing, was a turning point in my life, cause if you make it up in a sundance , you can do anything in the world. | Spiritual strength | Spirituality
Independent Identity
Ad |
| 63. When I finish my degree . I hope to work in the community. | Cultural integration for the benefit of the people | Cultural Integration
Work Natives
Ad |
| 64. Although I am Catholic and a traditional person I find the church did a lot of damage to our people. | Questions treatment by majority | Majority Alienation
Ad |
| 65. So I worked with elders to develop that [spiritual development] program , we go into who is Jesus ,by the time they walk out of there Sunday night they have an understanding | Cultural integration for the benefit of the people | Cultural Integration
Work Natives
Ad |
| 66. The main thing I'd like to say to get your degree or masters, if you love your own culture or traditions and going out and getting a white mans degree enhances your Indianness | Cultural integration for the benefit of the people and self | Cultural Integration
Ad
Hope |
| 67. We got to quit hiring white lawyers it's time we started taking care of our own business no matter who you hire I always wonder about their commitment to us how many people want to give us what it rightfully ours. | Promotes self-determination to ensure fair treatment of issues, questioning commitment of services provided from outside the community | Majority Alienation
Ad |
| 68. It is important that we become educated so we can go out and help the non-Natives world understand, help break down some of these barriers . | Education may help break down barriers, non-Native people seem to have been unable to do. | Cultural Integration
Cultural Separation
Ad |

APPENDIX A

Table 4

Thematic Abstractions of CO4's Experience

Meaning Units from Transcribed Interview	Two Levels of Abstraction	
	Paraphrases	Themes
CO4		
1. I was 14 or 15 before I knew I was a Native.	Ethnicity unimportant.	Cultural Diffusion Ch
2. Because my name was french I said I was french.	Assumes logical ethnic affiliation	Minority Affiliation Ch
3. Stepdad met mom on the reserve, took her and moved out. He knew my mom was Indian. He never let her speak her language or very seldom let her come to the reserve to visit.	Treatment of mother demeaning to Native background	Exposure to racism Ch
4. We only went to the reserve a couple of times , went back to visit my grandmother. and grand-father.	Stepfather isolated family from reserve and extended family	Group Alienation Ch
5. Visiting grandmother she'd be singing, I guess it was Indian songs, but I didn't know what it	Low level of ethnic awareness	Group Alienation Ch
6. I don't remember him ever telling us we were Indians.	Low level of ethnic awareness	Cultural Diffusion Ch
7. Although when I was younger and my step father used to say he'd send me back to the savages, I didn't know he was talking about my own relatives. as back then.	Father instills prejudice against Natives, she is unaware of relationship to self	Group Alienation Exposure to racism Ch
8. I thought Indians/Savages were people you weren't supposed to like. (laughs)	Internalizes prejudice	Group Alienation Ch
9. I know she was there but I can't picture her. Only time I can picture her, she was in her coffin.	Trauma of mother's death obliterate memories	Grief Ch
10. I used to have these fantasies, maybe til I was in my twenties. I used to think maybe she was .	Trauma surfaces in sustained grief reaction	Grief

deformed and maybe aunt M was really my mom and she didn't want to tell me because she had gotten so sick		Ch
11. I'm the only one who didn't have a whole brother or sister. Started school with my 2 younger brothers when I was eight. We all got along good, but I was the boss	Loss of mother increases feelings isolated within the family, but establishes a role for herself	Isolation Ch
12. I started learning how to cook when I was around 8-9. I t seemed like the more I learned to do the more I had to do and I used to wonder "why did I have to learn this too".	"Boss" role is essentially mother role	Assumes Paternal Role Ch
13. You know, my brothers were really fair, I was darker than them.	Recalls physical differences separating her from siblings	Cultural Diffusion Ch
14. No-one ever said anything about my being Native. School was fun.	Ethnicity unimportant	Cultural Diffusion Ch
15. I didn't take the prejudice onto myself when my stepfather used say .. because I didn't know I was Indian. (becomes quite again)	Step-fathers racial slurs not associated with self	Cultural Diffusion Ch
16. When I came to live on the reserve I didn't differentiate Native and Non- Natives. I never knew prejudice. yet.	Recognizes ethnicity as not being important until she returns to the community	Cultural Diffusion Adol
17. Stayed with aunt and uncle B. they said they were not going to send me back me back to step father, so I wouldn't be molested, I wasn't his kid and it wasn't safe.	Extended family intervenes to protect child, in abusive situation	Group Cohesion Adol
18. Anytime some one was sick, or something relatives would look after the children.	She accepts this as natural course of events	Group Cohesion Adol
19. Found out , when I went to live with Aunt M and them, and they must have told me I was an Indian.	Trauma of being told she is Native makes the memory vague	Native Identification Adol
20. I didn't want to believe I was an Indian.	Inwardly she recoils from proposed ethnicity	Identity Crisis Adol
21. But I think its different not		

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| knowing right away, than for someone who knows right away [they're Native].being told you're not the kid you thought you were. | She feels as though she has lost all her grounding, and is no longer the same person | Identity Crisis
Adol |
| 22. I can see where these kids being brought up in white homes, how they feel, the way they feel. | Uses analogy of feeling like you have no roots | Identity Crisis
Adol |
| 23. Brought up believing in white home, believe you are a certain person, so and so's child. | World view is shattered | Identity Crisis
Adol |
| 24. Then all of a sudden someone tells you "you're not, that's not your mother, not your father, you lose your sense of identity."
Don't really know who you are.
Still wonder who I am , really. | Shattering of world view has long term affects | Identity Crisis
Adol |
| 25. I just let it go, back then you don't say "No, I'm not". No-one argues about it. Probably said "Me?" and you don't think about it til later. | She is unable to refute ethnic identification because of social rules, so represses it. | Nativeness non-issue in Community
Adol |
| 26. They never got anything for looking after us. | Appreciates care and cost extended family absorbed in providing security for her | Group cohesion
Adol |
| 27. [Extended family taught me]
Good moral values, strict values | Appreciates values | Native Identification
Adol |
| 28. We still maintain close family ties. They still greet me as a daughter, and think of my children as their grandchildren. | Maintains close contact and extended family | Group Cohesion
Md Ad |
| 29. Even though I dropped out in grade 10. I felt I had to. It was hard enough making it to grade ten without having money for things I needed, I wanted to get out and make my own money. Because I knew how to look after myself, I felt I was ready to go out and work in the world. | Having had to develop an independence she identifies with the majority values and wants to make her way out into the world | Majority Identification
Adol |
| 30. Plus I wanted to get away from my uncle's drinking. I wasn't used of it | Wants to dissociate from unclesdrinking | Group Alienation
Adol |

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| 31. Yes there was this teacher in nursing school. I was kind of naive went I went to school [18 years old], and she had a way of explaining life and making it so you understood. | Appreciates own innocence coming from the reserve and finds herself a majority role model | Majority Identification
Adol |
| 32. Never thought much about being Indian, never felt treated and differently, till I went out to work. | Ethnicity now becomes an issue out of community | Nativeness non-issue in Native Community
Adol |
| 33. When I started feeling differently at work in the hospital, when Indian people would come in and they [staff] talked about them. | Confusion begins as she is exposed to racism against Native people | Exposure to Racism
Cultural Confusion
E Ad |
| 34. You know someone coming in drunk, raggedly or beaten up. They'd make remarks about people being drunk, staggering around down town, not doing anything, just getting drunk. | Comments regarding the stereotypical "Indian" begin to affect her. | Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic images
E Ad |
| 36. Then I'd say to myself, "hey they're talking about Indians and I'm an Indian". | Confusion begins immediately | Native Identification
Stereotypic Identification
E Ad |
| 37. Made me feel like I shouldn't say I'm Native, because of what they were saying. | Shame and desire to hide occurs | Hypersensitivity to Stereotypic images
E Ad |
| 35. Some of them don't think you're kind of fair and you tell them you're Native. They'll say well you're working, you're different. | Majority disrespects and disregards Nativeness even when informed | Majority Alienation
E Ad |
| 38. And I never broadcasted it. No-one ever thought I was or asked. I never said so. I didn't acknowledge I was Native, not telling, not saying. | Shame and hiding does occur | Hypersensitivity to stereotypic images
E Ad |
| 39. Every once in awhile I'd say "I'm Native, I'm not like that" | Attempts are made to defend self and group | Native Identification
E Ad |
| 40. Then they'd tell me "Well you're different". | Attempts are disregarded | Majority Alienation
Group Alienation
E Ad |
| 41. I guess I was a bit ashamed of being a Native. | Shame instilled. | Hypersensitivity Stereotypic images
E Ad |

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| 42. It wasn't until I went to a workshop...anyhow, <u>Indian is being Proud</u> . I was about 33 I sort of felt better about being a Native. | Education provides first exposure to positive images of Natives laying first root for ethnic pride | Native Identification Ad |
| 43. I felt good about it[workshop] . better about myself, on a high. After-awhile leveled out. | Felt euphoric in new self pride | Healing/life change Ad |
| 44. But then everything sort of went back to normal. I was working then as a social worker on the reserve. | Affirmation needs not perceived in Native community | Nativeness none-issue n Community Ad |
| 45 .Still don't feel like someonebody, how do I say it. You know, like my sister, real proud she's got Indian blood. | Internalized negativity causes ethnic ambiguity and some resentment that siblings don't feel the same | Isolation Group Alienation Ad |
| 46. She's never been put down. I'm not like that, <u>real</u> proud of being Native | Same as above | Majority Alienation Ad |
| 47. Almost more proud of the other Nationalities than the Native part. | Tries to compensate for ambiguity | Group Alienation Majority Identification Ad |
| 48. I know I'm Okanagan, German, English I know if you broke down each nationality, I don't have much Indian blood. | Tries to compensate for ambiguity | Group Alienation Ad |
| 49. But I get hurt, it bothers me when people put Natives down. | Experiences empathic pain when exposed to prejudice | Low Self Esteem Ad |
| 50. I think its made me timid. | Negativity directs choices | Low Self Esteem Ad |
| 51. I'm not, how am I saying it, I'm not as aggressive as I'd like to be, or as outgoing as I'd like to be. | Negativity directs choices | Low Self Esteem Ad |
| 52. I still keep my self in a safe place. Like doing the things I know I can do. Like staying on the same job for long periods of time. I won't go after anything if I don't know I can succeed at it. | Negativity directs choices. | Low Self Esteem Md AD |
| 53. People on the reserve are more | Appreciates Native attitudes | Native Identification |

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| friendly, you know everything. | | Md Ad |
| 54. Just like you living here, if there was another Native person here you'd get to know them, | Appreciates Native attitudes and with-in-group comradeship. | Group Cohesion
Md Ad |
| 55. I've come to the conclusion that you're not supposed to bother them[white people], and they won't bother you. | Differentiates majority attitude differences, allying self with Natives. | Majority Alienation
Md Ad |
| 56. Native people are more open, not afraid to talk to each other. | Same as above | Native Identification
Md Ad |
| 57. Well at a round dance I feel more comfortable. Because I'm a shy person, I still feel self conscious. | Gains security in-group situations | Group Cohesion
Md Ad |
| 58. I also feel important because of my job, | Appreciates majority attitude | Cultural Integration
Md Ad |
| 59. The time I worked in the hospital, it instilled in me to be on time and to do my share of work. | Pride in integration of majority value | Cultural Integration
Md Ad |
| 60. [In non-Native organization] Tense you always had to be doing something. | Differentiates majority work environment in negative connotations | Native Identification
Md Ad |
| 61. I've always socialized with the people I worked with. My kids always knew all my friends worked. | Appreciates majority attitude and exposure for children | Cultural Integration
Md Ad -Child |
| 62. Now though more of my friends don't work in the same area as I do, and more of them are Native. | Recognizes shift to in-group identification. | Native Identification
Group Cohesion
Md Ad |
| 63. I treat them [my friends] all the same. | Maintains unbiased attitude in personal friendships | Independent Identity
Md Ad |
| 64. One time when I was working, one lady there found it strange for me to go have coffee with one of my clients. She said "I never mix my professional life with my social life. | Exposed to majority stratification | Majority Alienation
Md Ad |
| 65. I felt Gee. I sort of felt it was kind of odd, she thought she was too good for her clients. For me it was just the natural thing to do. | Maintains Native attitude in face of majority disapproval | Majority Alienation
Independent Identity
Md Ad |
| 66. I felt for people. I felt like if someone was being prejudiced | Strong identification with | Majority Alienation |

against them they were being prejudiced against me.	Native people	Native Identification Md Ad
67. Part of it is remembering you'd be sent back to the savages, brings back memories.	Now knows stepfather's racism was directed at her, feels emotional pain	Stereotypic Identification Md Ad
68. The reason I kept/felt education was really important, I wanted my kids to graduate. They'd be able to get good jobs. look after themselves. They wouldn't be left in the same position I was. Not having a mother beside them.	Promotes cultural integration for her children to ensure their success and security, anxiety re-appears suggesting unresolved grief of mother's death	Cultural Integration Child Ad Grief Md Ad + Ch
69. One of the things I missed, was having to learn everything on my own, no-one to show if I was doing it right or wrong.	Unresolved grief of mother's death.	Grief Md Ad, Ch
70. Wanted them to be proud of themselves. When they used to come home and say so and so was calling me "Indian", I wanted them to be proud of themselves, no matter what color they were.	Sees importance of pride in ethnicity because of negative effects 'lack of' had on her	Native Identification Child
71. This story I used to tell my children. "My grandmother told me, that when God was making people he used to cook them in the oven just like cookies. His first batch he cooked too much and they were the negroes and the second batch he didn't cook enough and they were the white people and the last batch he cooked just right and they were the Indians" I always tried to make my kids feel good about being Indian, although I didn't know how to feel good.	Attempts are made early on to instill ethnic pride and relationship to God	Native Identification Child Ad
72. I thought all people were made and meant to be on the earth.	Importance of faith	Spirituality MdAd
73. My whole life. I feel all things I've been through and I've survived. That today can't be any worse. There is always a way to solve problems no matter	Strength and self appreciation in survival	Independent Identity Md- Ad

how hard they are.

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| 74. I'd say, I'm a pretty fantastic lady. (Laughs). I've done a lot with my life. | Self appreciation | Independent Identity
Md Ad |
| 75. As a single parent I brought up my kids and they're pretty darn good if I do say so myself. | Self appreciation | Independent Identity
Md Ad |
| 76. Life is different now, faster, different pace. Maybe its not as hard though, there are more social agencies to help a person. | Appreciation of different life experience of children more help being available besides herself | Cultural Integration
Md Ad |
| 78. No-one would ever see children left out in the backwoods without a mother or a parent now-a-days. | Unresolved grief of mothers death | Grief
Md Ad |
| 79. When things would go wrong, I wish my mother was around. | Unresolved grief of mothers death | Grief
Md Ad |
| 80. Things my children are accomplishing, I never would have thought. The studies I had to do were a lot easier. | Pride in success of children | Independent Identity
Child |
| 81. If I went back to school now, I'd probably have to start over again at about grade nine. | Examines possibility of expanding own horizons | Independent Identity
Md Ad |
| 82. I'd like to be able to have a home, own place, retire. I think my life is pretty good. Work a few more years and then go live my children and let them look after me. | Contentment and happiness in life and future | Group Cohesion
Md Ad |
| 83. Leaving my children behind. That just means, leaving them without any parents | Unresolved grief of mothers death | Grief
Md Ad |

APPENDIX A

TABLE 5

Thematic Abstractions of C05's Experience

Meaning Units from Transcribed Interview	Two Levels of Abstraction	
	Paraphrases	Themes
C05		
1. I really see a lot of discrimination being born without a father it was hard on me, kids called me names	Experiences discrimination	Low Self Esteem Ch
2. There were three boys in the same boat as I was and we stuck together the three of us. And we grew up to be men, we stuck together, we trapped together, we worked out together, until they both died.	Gains emotional support from others experiencing same problems	Minority Affiliation Ch
3. In the convent I was staying. I'd go to bed, some of the boys and we would wake up and in the morning, they'd be dead and I would feel awful nervous watching these kids dying. They would be alright when they'd go to bed and in the morning they'd be dead. I was just waiting for my turn but my turn never did come. I am very happy to be alive yet today.	Experiences trauma of helplessness, fear of death in Residential School	Residential School Ch
4. I didn't understand any English and I'd get whipped for talking my language.	Forced removal of childhood identifications	Residential School Ch
5. I think being in a convent, I say for me, "I call it hell" because that is the worse part of my life.	Hatred towards religious institution	Residential School Ch
6. I am 78 and those were the worst years, I always lived in fear. I couldn't speak I was silenced all those policies that the nuns had against us.	Long lasting effects of childhood abuses	Residential School Ch
7. We were not really treated like	Instillation of fear	Residential School

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| human beings and I lived in fear | | Ch |
| 8. Other people from boarding schools]they all say the same thing." that's what destroyed my life was a Residential School" our grandchildren cannot face the whiteman, even to go look for a job. they're scared of something. | Long lasting effects, a passing on of fear to succeeding generations | Group struggle
Low Self Esteem ur
Residential School
Ch |
| 9. [After leaving the boarding school]
If I heard a wagon coming I would hide in bush to see, if it was an Indian, I'd face him, right on, and if it was a white man I would hide | Fears generalized to majority group | Low Self Esteem
Residential School
Adol |
| 10. I don't go to church anymore, cause I spent ten years in a convent. | Disillusionment with church | Residential School
Ad |
| 11. I do my own praying right out there in the bush, every trap that I set I'd say a little prayer, when I am driving out in the bush | Maintain Native spirituality | Spirituality
Ad |
| 12. I enjoy life I believe there is someone who is looking after us and I think that is my Religion. | Belief in Creator | Spirituality
Ad |
| 13. Cree Indians have the shaking tent,
I really thought was something. a very good friend of mine says to me one day he said " This guy from the United States, he brain washed you I know everything I get messages in my dreams and I see you your on the wrong road. " You better not bother that guy anymore forget about him." And I did and I believe in what he said, he said the Sweat and the Sundance those are very good things, cause your suffering. I believed him so I never went back. | Belief in spiritual guidance | Spirituality
Ad |
| 14. That guy, people follow him around like he was Jesus you know they get fooled. So I don't go for it. | Concern that Native people are being mislead in spiritual issues. | Cultural Confusion
Ad |

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| 15. I think had an advantage
I didn't depend on nobody,
I'm independent
I make my own living. | Pride in independence | Independent identity
Ad |
| 16. In later years I went out trapping
cause there was nothing else
In the summer time I would go
out in to the farms. Ride horse
looking for any kind of work,
Trapping I'd make pretty good
sometimes and sometimes I
didn't but I had something to
eat and that's the way it was
with me. | Limited means of survival
appreciates own efforts | Group Struggle
Ad |
| 17. Because I was Native I had no
choice, I had to take the
directions that I had. There was
no opportunity at that time. | Legislative limitations on
self determination | Majority Alienation
Ad |
| 18. A lot of things have come into
my life, alcoholism set in after
I got married the second time
I started drinking by myself on
the quiet.
I started giving her[wife] a drink
and I made her into an alcoholic. | Begins living anomic
existence | Anomie
Ad |
| 19. I remember the time when we
first got the chance to vote
That's when we can drink in bars
and I happen to be one of the
first ones that went into the bar
that time. I was not thinking
straight | -legislative freedom, also
made anomic lifestyle
more accessible
-recognition of confused
thinking | Anomie
Ad |
| 20. 27 years ago we quit drinking | Change lifestyle | Independent Identity
Md Ad |
| 21. I was already an old man and I
had quit drinking. I had always
wanted to be a counselor. I put
in my name, just for the hell of it. | Seeks personal development
new skills | Cultural Integration
Lt Ad |
| 22. You know I had those life skills
before they were bred into me.
But I didn't know like crying;
crying was wrong when you
were a man.
"everybody needs life skills,
it don't matter how old you are,
cause if he thinks he knows
everything; he doesn't". | Emotional development,
opening of previously
closed channels | Healing/Life Change
Lt Ad |

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|--|--|---|
| <p>23. I am not shy anymore. I think that's what I got with my sobriety when I quit drinking. Before that I couldn't even stick my head out, I'd always get smaller and smaller that's what I got out of life.</p> | <p>Appreciates sobriety
emotional channels opened</p> | <p>Healing/life change
Lt Ad</p> |
| <p>24. Life skills should be compulsory.</p> | <p>Education appreciation.</p> | <p>Cultural Integration
Lt Ad</p> |
| <p>25. Life has changed, I wouldn't want to be Chief right now with all the problems that are going on right now. The government helps us make the problems for us they don't listen to us..There is a big fight going on yet, because they followed the Indian act.</p> | <p>Disillusionment with Native governments and Majority government.</p> | <p>Disillusionment with Native Community
Majority Alienation

Lt Ad</p> |
| <p>26. So I helped to try and resolve the problem. It is stress related, it is hard on a old man.</p> | <p>Attempts to assist in resolution of Native political issues.</p> | <p>Work with Natives
Lt-Ad</p> |
| <p>27. Being so used to being put down and given a number#125 I felt I was a lower class of person.</p> | <p>Feelings of degradation</p> | <p>Majority Alienation
Ad</p> |
| <p>28. I felt degraded because I could not vote in my own country until 1962. There is something wrong, I said "I was here before the Frenchmen" and now again Meech Lake accord never mentioned Natives. But the Frenchmen they come first, I feel very relieved by what Elija Harper is doing.</p> | <p>Feelings of indignation, legislative disregard of Native people</p> | <p>Majority Alienation
Lt Ad

Group Assertion
Lt Ad</p> |
| <p>29. But they're trying to wipe us right out, no consideration about treaties or anything. Now at least we might get something cause we have nothing to lose. We already lost everything (laugh).</p> | <p>Feels legislation has disregarded natives, appreciates efforts to assert Native rights.</p> | <p>Group Assertion
Lt Ad</p> |
| <p>30. Once we lose them [reserves] we're gone forever. It holds us back to a certain extent</p> | <p>Reserve provides roots but hold people to that ground</p> | <p>Cultural confusion
Lt Ad</p> |
| <p>31. I see is the children that are</p> | | |

brought up by their grandparents. They know how to boss their grandparents. Those are the children most likely to go straight, this is my finding .

Appreciation of grandparent role in child rearing

Extended Family
Lt Ad

32. Single mothers they do everything, give their hearts, Those are the children, especially boys, (that have trouble) with my experience.

Family instability in single parent family

Family instability

33. The only way you are going to see a change with Natives, in these jails, is you got to hire more Native guards. Natives can change Natives.

Sees need for more Native involvement in creating social change.

Group Assertion
Lt Ad

34. You don't have to have a diploma a mile long, an Indian's diploma is right here, in his heart and he talks to his same kind. "

Within group understanding and appreciation.

Cultural Separation
Lt Ad

35. We're different "I said nobody can fool me and tell me "I'm not different, yes I am different"

Group and self appreciation

Cultural Separation
Lt Ad

36. These kids are different now, they go to the public schools and they learn all the bad things. They're worse ever since we had integration. We can't handle them. It's hard to change them now.

Sees public schools as having negative affects on the of Native children

Majority Alienation
Lt Ad

37. Probation officers, if your not good they threaten you. You don't threaten anybody, you have to be there trying to change that kid

Disillusionment with penal system

Majority Alienation
Lt Ad

38. It hurts me to see jails filled withboys. That's big business for thewhites.

Empathic pain

Majority Alienation
Lt Ad

39. One thing that I am really proud of myself, was I never got fired from a job and I never quit a job until I was finished. That's one thing I can say about myself.

Pride in accomplishments

Independent Identity
Ad

40. Native people they don't seem to think far ahead in the future. Unlike the whiteman,

Identification of value differences

Cultural Separation

- | | | |
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| the whitemans way of thinking,
is only of money | | Lt Ad |
| 41. Bernard Ominiak's Reserve and I
was there and some of the old
people. And someone went over
there and taught them this, that
they should put twenty percent
of their checks or what ever
money they could spare and
put it in the bank. | Identification of social
change | Cultural Integration
Lt Ad |
| 42. That's what we should be
teaching ours, how to save money | Need for social change | Cultural Integration
Lt Ad |
| 43. I think these boys and girls
that are going out in the city,
I think they're working hard
for their education. That's really
hard work what they're doing.
That's going to help them in
later life. | Recognition of the value
of education | Cultural Integration
Lt Ad |
| 44. Where as the same girls, are
doing nothing on the reserve,
with nothing but a whole
bunch of kids. | Anomic lifestyle of the
reserve | Group Struggle
Lt Ad |
| 45. That's what I am saying the
reserve is not the very best place.
We're so divided on the reserve,
we don't kiss each other on the
Reserve. | Disillusionment with
reserve life | Group Struggle
Lt Ad |
| 46. what is missing on our Reserve
is respect. | Loss of values
in Native community | Disillusionment of
Native Community
Lt Ad |
| 47. We fight amongst out selves,
so it's not the best of place,
But you know we had everything
taken away in out lives every-
thing in our lives, so all we have
left are our Reserves and we
still hang onto it, we still hang
onto those roofs. | Struggle for survival on
reserves | Disillusionment of
Native Community
Lt Ad |
| 48. People just don't stop and think
that it is hurting us in lots of ways.
They got no future, they got no
place to go, they're stuck, that's
why. | Stagnation of
community | Disillusionment with
Native Community
Lt Ad |
| 49. What I see now, is a breeding
ground for alcoholism, and drugs, | | |

and not only that ,you get stuck with a Reserve life. Your thinking is not beyond your nose, you don't think ahead.

Stagnation of community perpetuates anomic lifestyles

Anomie
Disillusionment with Native Community
Lt Ad

50. Young boys that are raised on the Reserve, and it doesn't matter how white he is, I have grandchildren that have white fathers they can't even go ask for a job, they're scared of the white man.

Insulation of community perpetuates fear of majority

Disillusionment with Native Community
Lt Ad

51. You have to make sacrifices.If you like your drinking, if you like to party. Parties are fun, you're laughing there lots of fun. Then you get the wrong person behind the wheel. So many young people is wheel chairs, for life it's no way to live

Empathic pain for tragedies of anomic life-styles

Anomie
Lt Ad

52. You know there is a way of telling those people, that they're in school for a reason. That's the way of life, for the future, you got to think about the future I don't want to be a dirty old trapper or a moose hunter, I want to be a policeman or something that is really good a doctor, a lawyer, welfare worker, psychology. A person has to look up, when people look up at him, a teacher, that's good. Not down on him. When when you see an alcoholic people look down on him, they don't want to look at him.

Promotion of education cultural integration

Cultural integration
Lt Ad

53. A person with a good education he has a good chance in life.

Values education

Cultural integration
Lt Ad

54. I got one boy who is working on the rigs, makes all kinds of good money and then blows up, then goes back.You got to remind him its not doing the very best for him and then you make him mad.

Concern for destructive path of son

Cultural Confusion
Child

55. The girls I am very happy about they're all trying to get ahead.

Pride in achievements of daughters

Cultural Integration
Lt Ad

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|--|---|--|
| 56. The ones that have the guts they're better off than the one that stay. | Sees life off reserve as better | Cultural Integration
Lt Ad |
| 57. I think it is good to love and Respect | Personalvalues | Independent Identity
Lt Ad |
| 58. You love a child that's why you tease him, as an Elder. You laugh if you make him mad, that kid needs something cause your trying to show him love, that's the only way you care for him. | Native values and relationships | Native Identification
Lt Ad |
| 59. I have a grandson, a little over 3 and I go see him everyday. | Maintains extended family ties | Group Cohesion
Lt Ad |
| 60. I enjoy life, here I am still traveling. I am doing Indian politics, I enjoy what I am doing. I don't think I'll get rich, I still have my children, they all care for me. I just work myself till I get tired so I can go to bed and sleep soundly. | Life contentment
emotional security in
extended family, knows
children will care for him | Group Cohesion
extended family
Lt Ad |

Appendix BCONSENT FORM

I, _____, consent to being a participant in this study about the experience of being Native in Canadian society today. I understand that my participation in this research is completely voluntary and that I may decide freely to withdraw at any point in the research process.

I further understand that my participation will be confidential. Any names or other identifying information will be changed in the transcript process. A pen name may be substituted for my name. Audiotapes of the interview will be accessible only to the researcher and will be destroyed upon completion of this study.

Signature _____

Date _____

APPENDIX C

Interview Outline

1. What has it meant to you to be a Native?
2. How has your life been affected by your Nativeness? What are your feelings around those events?
3. Are there any particular events that stand out in your mind? What were your feelings at that time?
4. Do you believe there were life choices you made because you are Native?
Describe
5. Have you lived in a Native Community? How would you describe life there? What kind of influence do you feel that experience has had on you?
6. Do you think your life experiences are usual compared to other Native people you know ?
7. What about your family? Do you think they view life the same way you do?
8. How is your life the same or different now?
9. How would you describe your life generally now?
10. Do you think your past has influenced you now and your children? 11. Do you feel there are differences in the way Native and Non-Native people view life?
Describe
12. Is there any kind of statement you could give me that, for you sums up your philosophy regarding your approach to life?
13. In your experience, what do you think is most helpful in developing a solid sense of self?
14. What are your goals for the future?
15. Is there anything else you want to say?